

RELIGIOUS  
PAMPHLETS  
SELECTED AND  
ARRANGED BY  
PERCY DEARMER

THE PAMPHLET LIBRARY

EDITED BY ARTHUR WAUGH

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*Edited by* ARTHUR WAUGH

RELIGIOUS PAMPHLETS



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# RELIGIOUS PAMPHLETS

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

BY THE REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A.

*WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*



LONDON  
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.  
1898





## PREFATORY NOTE

TO

### ‘THE PAMPHLET LIBRARY’

THE object of *The Pamphlet Library* is to set before readers who are interested in the literary and constitutional history of our country the text of those pamphlets or tractates which, besides possessing the only saving qualities of distinction and style, have also exercised a striking influence upon the current of events. At present five volumes are in contemplation, dealing respectively with pamphlets of political, literary, religious, and dramatic significance, and the editors who have undertaken them have regulated their choice primarily by two considerations. Each pamphlet, it has been held, should have high literary qualities, and should also mark a distinct change or development of taste or standpoint. Unfortunately, the pamphleteer of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not always as brief as he was effective, and the restrictions of space have obliged the omission of some

polemical articles which might possibly have been included with advantage. It is hoped, however, that by means of excerpt and footnote no pamphlet of the first importance has been altogether neglected; and the editors of the various volumes explain in their introductions the reason and the limit of their selections. Concerning the value of the Pamphlet and the expediency of its recension, Dr Johnson himself will be found discoursing with pregnancy and wit in Mr Ernest Rhys's collection of Literary Pamphlets, and his strenuous sentences are more than sufficient argument in favour of the present enterprise. For, indeed, Reform is the child of Controversy, and the most effectual arrows in the quiver of Controversy are those of a country's Press. Before the day of the clamouring newspaper, the Pamphlet was the leader of popular taste, so that in a study of these fugitive pieces we may see the features of an Age, as in a glass, may mark its expression, and understand its tendency. As some such footnote to history the following papers have been collected. How far they may prove of value it rests with others to decide.

A. W.

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## INTRODUCTION

PAMPHLETS have this in common with newspapers, that they are written without much thought of posterity; and thus the vast majority of them, having raised their clatter of a day, pass quickly into oblivion, only to be read with weariness and difficulty by the curious in after years. Allusions that are lost beyond recovery, jests that grin upon us without meaning, triumphant arguments based upon moth-eaten premisses, and acid personalities that now injure none but their authors, these are but poor reading to the most devoted of historians. Yet, were there no others but these, they would still be of rich value to us; for in the weakest of them, the past becomes alive again and makes us its contemporaries. But, fortunately, there is a small minority of pamphlets, which were written in that larger spirit which is always modern, and can afford to defy antiquity.

The pamphlets in this collection cannot indeed all claim to belong to this latter class;

for they have been chosen for their historical significance, and history has not always been most deeply affected by that which posterity cares most to remember. Still, the greater men had their say and were listened to; it has therefore been possible to draw mainly from them, and to choose the larger part of this collection from writers who, both for literary beauty, and because they avoided the transitory nothings which lesser men fix upon, are worthy of our veneration to-day. If I had set only a literary end in view, it would have been easy to have included other pamphlets from these writers, and from others of like make, barring out altogether the yelping, snarling pack of lesser men. But it has been my aim, in so far as the limits of the book permitted, to flash the mirror along the stages of modern history, giving that vivid reflection of religion in its various manifestations which the pamphlet so readily affords. Such an impression cannot, I venture to think, fail to be of value in the present condition of religious controversy, nor to encourage the growth of that historic sense which has proved so useful a solvent of many bitter disputations.

Pamphlets are older than printing; they are, according to Oldys, 'the eldest offspring of

paper'; and religious pamphlets may well be as old as religious disputation, no younger, that is, than man himself. But for our purposes we may well take Wiclif as the starting point of the English pamphlet, since he may be said to have invented English prose as a vehicle of literary exposition, and was the first great instance of a popular writer before the days of printing.

Wiclif, in the later years of his life, turned from scholastic disputants, and devoted his attention to the common people; he appealed in the very spirit of the pamphleteer from current authority to public opinion, spreading his tracts as wide as the transcriber's pen would allow, and sending his 'poor priests' to preach his doctrines throughout the country. Of the many extant tracts wherein he set down in simple nervous English the pith of his ponderous Latin treatises, I have chosen one which, in spite of its shortness, covers most of the matters he disputed; since there is in Wiclif's case no one pamphlet which attained a special notoriety, and the *Septem Hereses* is a good type of them all.

There is indeed one short essay from Wiclif's pen which has a pre-eminent reputation, the *Wyket*; but it was delivered as a sermon,

and therefore could not strictly be included in a collection of pamphlets. And here it may be well to say that as for many years the pulpit continued to be used for pamphleteering purposes, I have had to omit some notable pamphlets because of the accident of their delivery at Paul's Cross. I need only mention as an example of this Latimer's sermon on *The Plough*, which, preached at St Paul's in 1549, had been printed and reprinted seven times before the century was out.

If Wiclif was a man of many books Simon Fish was a man of few; but of these one was the *Supplicacyon of Beggars*. It was of such importance at the time that Oldys says that the Reformation itself 'has been much ascribed to one little pamphlet only, which a certain Lawyer of *Gray's Inn*, obliged to fly into *Germany* (for having acted in a Play which incensed Cardinal *Wolsey*) composed there, and conveyed by Means of the Lady *Anne Bullen*, to the Perusal of King *Harry*, at the beginning of the said Rupture, and how the copies thereof were strewed about, at the King's Procession to *Westminster* (the first example, as some think, of that Kind of Appeal to the Public).' Wiclif's pamphlets had been honestly one-sided, but that of Fish



was maliciously so. Nevertheless it amused Henry VIII. and did its work ; the answer which Sir Thomas More composed, *A Supplicacyon of Soulys* being, as so often happened with subsequent Church rejoinders, too big a cudgel to crush so small a foe. The excellence of the *Supplicacyon* was that it exactly expressed in a humorous form the prevailing discontent at the richness and slackness of the Church ; and it nerved men for the attack that was to follow.

From the *Supplicacyon of Beggars*, which heralds the religious break-up of Henry's reign, we pass to John Knox's *Monstruous Regiment of Women*, for the sake of the vivid picture in its peroration of the horror which the Marian persecutions raised in the hearts of those who heard of them from their safe places of exile. We have nothing to do with the main thesis of Knox's diatribe, which is that 'to promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm is repugnant to nature, contrary to God, and, finally, it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice' ; but the denunciation of that 'cursed Jesabel of England,' on whose account the pamphlet was written, strikes the first note of the indignation, both loud and deep, which did more than anything else to

make and keep England Protestant. Mary wrought far more harm than her father to the faith she loved; and her memory made the English people unable for three centuries calmly to consider the merits of a religion which had been supported by such means.

Cartwright's *Admonition to Parliament* marks the full development of Puritanism. It now takes form in definite opposition to the English Church, both in ceremonies and in order. Puritans are indeed almost entirely Nonconformists, and not Separatists, and there is no idea as yet of permanent division; for such a thing would have seemed to all Protestants an intolerable confession of failure, nor was it finally accepted till after the Restoration. But the hope of the Nonconformist Puritans was to capture the Church; it was not for toleration but ascendancy that they fought. By the system of *classes*, which was based upon Cartwright's *Book of Discipline* of 1580, a deliberate and well-organised attempt was made to establish an *imperium in imperio*, and so to eviscerate the Church system, by the introduction of a Puritan committee of clergymen with complete authority in each diocese. Cartwright was thus not only the most influential teacher on his side, but he gave a system and method

to Puritanism which it had lacked before. Our extracts from the *Admonition* give both an exposition of this system and an interesting criticism of the order of the Church of England.

But already an attack of a different kind was being made against the Church of England. From 1570 there was a constant flow of Puritan tracts, which poured virulent abuse, not only upon episcopacy, but upon the Bishops themselves, and culminated in the famous Marprelate libels of 1588-9. More than forty of these strange documents were reprinted in 1593 by Waldegrave, the Marprelate printer, under the curious title—‘*A Parte of a Register, contayning sundrie memorable matters, written by divers godly and learned of our time, which stande for, and desire the reformation of our Church, in Discipline, and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our Lande.*’

This most interesting collection, which mirrors the rise of Puritanism, might well be republished to-day. Here, however, we can only indicate its contents. The very title is full of significant phrases; such as, the word ‘godly,’ which has already become in Puritan mouths the technical term for Puritanism; the

use of the phrase 'our Church,' since the Puritans were still Churchmen, who were working for a further 'reformation' in the Church of England; the belief that the law of England would be found on their side, and that the law of Moses could be invoked as the final 'word of God'; and the mention of 'discipline and Ceremonies' as the two salient rocks of offence. Most of the pamphlets in this collection are on these two last points: attacks on prelacy in the matter of discipline; on the surplice, wedding-ring and baptismal sign of the cross, 'the dregges of Poperie,' in ceremonial; and it was round them that the battle raged until Puritanism had triumphed, and fallen, in the next century. For its very curious reasons against the Anglican ritual 'The Judgement of certaine godlie Preachers upon the Question propounded' should be read, while 'A Lamentable Complaint of the Communalitie,' which is a small book in itself, throws a valuable light on the religious and social position at the time. Other tracts in *A Parte of a Register* may be mentioned as representative of the rest of the collection:— 'A comfortable epistle by Mai. [Master] D. W. Doctor of Divinitie': 'A godlie and zealous letter written by Mai. Antony Gilby, about

anno 1570': 'An examination of certayne Londoners before the commissioners, about anno 1567': 'The Exceptions of Mai. Nicholas Crane, Preacher, against subscription, who died in Newgate, anno 1588': 'The unlawful practise of Prelates against the godly ministers': 'Certayne reasons against the crosse in baptisme': 'The authoritie of the Ministers': 'The office of the Doctor.'

Such was the character of the first Puritan pamphlets; but with the appearance of the *Marprelate Libels* the attack assumes an even more serious importance; for which reason, and because of the confusion that has settled upon this and other Puritan controversies, it deserves a rather fuller treatment in this place. The controversy now becomes national. For the former pamphlets had circulated only among the 'godly ministers' and their following; while Dr Bridge's ponderous answer to them could have attracted little notice outside learned circles, had not the mysterious Martin Marprelate sprung into notoriety with his *Epistle*, which began with the ironical invitation to 'Reade over D. John Bridges,' and proceeded to vilify the Bishops with a vigour unknown before. This new onslaught came

like a thunderbolt. All England was stirred. All men heard what the Puritans had to say.

For the moment Martin was triumphant. His boasts and threats breathe the exulting confidence of one whose enemies are already at his feet. And indeed the opposition to him was weak enough at first. Bishop Cooper's *Admonition to the People of England*, a temperate appeal to the good feeling of Englishmen, was hardly more likely than Dr Bridge's *Defence* to be read by those who chuckled over the racy invective of Marprelate.

But more redoubtable opponents than these worthy verbose dignitaries were soon in the field. Men whose names are still famous, Tom Nash and Lyly the Euphuist, drawn by so notable an opportunity of displaying their wit, dashed into the fray, and by August the Marprelate libels were met in kind. *The Countercuffe*, *Pappe with a Hatchet*, *An Almond for a Parrot*, and the rest were not more nice than the scurrilities of Martin, but they were wittier; and the advent of Pasquil (as Nash called himself) and his friends proved a real 'countercuffe,' from which the Martinists never recovered. Penry, with all his ability, was not a match for two of the ablest prose-writers of Elizabethan times; the

biter was mercilessly bitten, and the sour ridicule of Marprelate eclipsed by the sharper lighter wit of Cuthbert Curriknave and Pasquil of England. The law too was quickly set in motion, the Martinist printers were hunted from one country-house to another, so that early in 1590 Penry had to fly to Scotland. When, three years later, he suffered death on other charges, there does not seem to have been any general sympathy on his behalf.

It was an odd kind of Church defence that came from the reckless pen of a scape-grace like Tom Nash, and the age that could be impressed by it must have been curiously wanting in settled principles. To us there seems but little serious defence in any of the 'marre-Martin' pamphlets, and so little attempt to meet the constantly reiterated arguments of Martin that we begin to wonder whether Nash had read any of the libels he set himself to answer. Martin was at least in deadly earnest and the exponent of certain religious convictions which, if they are obsolete to-day, were of vital reality to him, and for that matter to the bulk of those who took religion seriously at that time. His opponents seem to be actuated only by a personal dislike of the uncouth Precisians, who had given them such

a glorious opportunity of displaying their skill in thwacking and cuffing a literary combatant. Clever vituperation, quips and cranks, occupy them almost entirely; they make little attempt to defend the outraged characters of their Fathers in God, and display no convictions more definite than a general loyalty to the popular Queen and the established order in Church and State. It would be a 'fine tragedie,' they think, if Martin were to play the part of Haman, and 'he that seekes to pull down those that are set in authority above him, should be hoysted upon a tree above all others.' Yet in another vein Nash could write so religious a book as *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*.

Scurrilous and malignant as the Martinists were, they were not without excuse. They had suffered grievously at the hands of the erastian Bishops, under the particularly irritating circumstances that their persecutors held theological opinions nearly identical with their own. The Elizabethan Bishops were at this time Calvinists who had been chosen for their political subserviency; and they used the power thus acquired to examine, bully, and punish the 'godly' preachers in the Court of High Commission. Penry himself had felt the hand of Whitgift, when he was examined by



the Court in 1587. So great was the secular power of these 'right puissante and terrible priests' that even the Press was subject to them for every book and pamphlet that was printed. The only remedy for the Puritans was a secret press, and it is known that Penry managed the Marprelate printing arrangements with remarkable daring and skill. Could it be wondered that prelacy was for him the symbol of a brutal and stupid tyranny? It was not an age to distinguish between principles and persons; and to him the respectable time-serving prelates were 'truly the Bishops of the Divell,' 'men of sinne, the Canturburie Caiaphas with the rest of his anti-Christian beasts, who beare his abominable marke.' The Bishops were more Protestant than the Queen, and Martin Marprelate was but one degree more Protestant than the Bishops. He knew that they were not in accord with the Catholic formularies of the Church that paid them; he knew that the religious settlement was not complete; and like every Puritan he believed that the goal of a complete Protestantism on the basis of 'the best reformed churches' would soon be reached. Yet, whenever a Puritan attempted to carry the Reformation another step forward, he found himself sternly

suppressed by Bishops who did not believe in episcopacy and were Anglicans not from principle but for policy. He used the only weapon in his power, and he had to use it ferociously to make it felt.

Since the Marprelate controversy is typical of much that is characteristic in the history of pamphlets, and because the principles involved are still often misunderstood, it is worth while to ask ourselves what was their effect ; and the answer to that question may be applied to the great Puritan movement of the seventeenth century as well.

In the first place the Martinists did not fight for freedom, except in so far as every pamphleteer desires freedom for his own opinions. The history of pamphlets is naturally united rather closely with that of toleration ; but it is hardly honest to claim any pamphlet writer as an apostle of liberty, merely because he happened to represent the opinions of a minority and was therefore anxious that his own party should be unmolested. The growth of toleration has been very slow, and the belief in it confined at first to those who were persecuted. We cannot credit any sect or party with its possession, except those which never attained to power ; we can only be certain

that the idea has grown painfully from age to age, leaving each generation a little more tolerant than that which preceded it. Cromwell, for instance, was more genuinely tolerant than Elizabeth, but he could not extend his toleration to Anglicans and Papists; which meant in fact that he was tolerant to his fellow Puritans, and to them only. In the sixteenth century most men believed fervently in persecution. Cartwright, for instance, the idol of Marprelate, gloried in it, and went out of his way to say so in very strong language. The Martinists in fact did not pretend to want tolerance: they were fighting for something quite different. They claimed that their church-system, the 'divine' system of Calvin, should be established by law upon the ruins of the existing 'human' one; and at that time there seemed every likelihood that the Anglican settlement would indeed prove to be but the preliminary to a state-Calvinism. The Martinists fought against tyranny, and for that we are grateful to them: nevertheless, had they triumphed, England would have suffered under a tyranny of the 'saints,' which would have caused men to look back upon the Court of High Commission as the symbol of a golden age. What such a tyranny could become we

can learn from the condition of Connecticut in 1650, when blasphemy, adultery, sorcery, theft and disobedience to parents were punished with death on the model of the Levitical code, when Baptists and Quakers were scourged and Papists hanged. 'Very fortunate was it for England,' says the most sympathetic critic of the Marprelate writings, 'that the Bishops held their own, and kept these jot and tittle men out of the power to compel (as by the will of God) all men to think as they did.' For, had they triumphed, 'not a play would have been permitted to be represented, still less to have come to the press.' It was not then for any principles they held that the Martinists helped on the cause of freedom, nor for any opinions in advance of their age: for their religion consisted in a blind worship of the letter of the Old Testament, which would have replaced the law of Christ by that of Moses; but because they were forced to fight for their own sakes against Whitgift's organised suppression of the Press, and that iniquitous secular jurisdiction of the Bishops, which finally came to an end in the triumph of seventeenth century Puritanism, and did not reappear with the restoration of the Church in 1660.

The effect of the Marprelate libels upon the

history of religion is also less simple than is sometimes thought. They of course were one of the educational factors in preparing the way for the temporary ascendancy of Puritanism in the next century; and so far was this recognised at the time of the Great Rebellion that several of Martin's pamphlets were reprinted and widely circulated. Yet their counter effect upon the Church was of far more permanent importance. Appearing just at the time when religion was in a state of flux and even the Bishops did not know where they stood, the libels divided the shifting waters of opinion and clarified the whole thought of the country. The gain to the Church was considerable, for the Church had been dying of indefiniteness. But in the very year of the Armada, when men were least disposed to look favourably on division or disloyalty, appeared the Marprelate libels, which, on the one hand, by shewing forth Puritanism in its most un-amiable light, led men to see that it was 'not a plea for toleration of non-episcopal Christianity, but an attempt to enforce the Presbyterian system upon the country as God's ordinance,' while, on the other, they forced the Church to a true setting forth of what episcopacy is. Whitgift in his controversy with Cartwright,

Cooper in the *Admonition* itself, had attempted to defend the Church system on grounds nearly identical with those of its assailants. But suddenly all was changed. Within a year of the appearance of Marprelate's *Epistle*, on the 9th of February, 1589, Bancroft preached the famous sermon at Paul's Cross, which proclaimed the divine right of the episcopal order, and marks the turning point of the Reformation in England; and five years later Hooker produced in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* the most momentous book in English Church history, and settled for good the Catholic basis of the Church.

It has been necessary, owing to the obscurantism of controversial historians and the particular confusion which envelopes the Marprelate controversy, to dwell thus at some length upon it. The succeeding writers may be dealt with more summarily. Parsons, the famous Jesuit, whom I have not mentioned till now, though his pamphlet is eight years earlier than Marprelate, represents the Roman Catholic reaction which has continued in various forms to the present time. In his case I have been again forced to content myself with extracts; but I have endeavoured to omit only the more general arguments, and to

retain those which indicate the Roman Catholic position, as it was at the time when English Romanists were finally making up their minds to abandon the Church of England.

With Hooker had come the recovery of the Church ; his intellectual appeal won the thinking men of the younger generation to his side, and within twenty years of his death his disciples were the leaders of the Church :— Andrewes, one of the greatest saints and divines that Christendom has produced ; George Herbert, one of its best poets and foremost too among its saints ; Laud, stern disciplinarian as he was, and for long the butt of controversial historians, yet acknowledged now by Mr Gladstone as ‘ the first Primate of All England for many generations who proved himself by his acts to be a tolerant theologian.’

But with it all was the fatal intermixture of the royal prerogative, so wantonly misused. So Puritanism blazed forth again, no longer appealing to the royal absolutism to put down its foes, but in revolt against the monarchy which had declared against it. These turbulent times were the great age of pamphleteering. Journals were few and poor, tracts numberless and daring ; every form of thought had its champions, and the battle raged fiercely. The

people almost lived upon pamphlets, and the streets were full of what Bishop Earle called 'the silent traytors that affront majesty, and abuse all authority, under the colour of an *imprimatur*'; between the years 1640 and 1660 no less than thirty thousand tracts are known to have been issued. The Bishop wrote in 1647 that these 'ubiquitary flies have of late so blistered the eares of all men that they cannot endure any solid truth.' And perhaps to them may be attributed the singular ferocity of the struggle, the onesidedness of the combatants, and the sudden revulsions of feeling which first led people to plunge into the Commonwealth, and then, in their terror at the tyranny of Puritanism in arms, to seek for some measure of freedom in the Restoration.

The bulk of these pamphlets were on the Puritan side, the writers on the other part being, even in the case of born pamphleteers like Peter Heylin, too lengthy for their purpose. Were not their authors often witty and amusing the material would be unpleasant enough. Turning over one envenomed libel after another, one is tempted to say that this at any rate was not Christianity. The writers are earnest enough, and they are ready to suffer for their beliefs; but their religion is not the



religion of love. Nor is there much intelligence in their arguments: some, like Prynne, are learned, but they one and all confine themselves to a perpetual restatement of the sixteenth century objections, and that on the narrowest lines; indeed, a modern Presbyterian or Independent would find almost as little as the straightest Anglican in their writings that he would care to adopt. No doubt the stress of the times brought to the front men of an intensely hard and narrow temper; but the melancholy thing is that a presumably religious public, in an age which has been credited with more than ordinary piety, could be found to delight in them. Nor was it by any means only against the Church that the Puritans wrote: they poured an equal virulence into each other, as the radical distinction between Separatist Independents and Nonconformist Presbyterians became more marked. Of Bagshaw, for instance, it is recorded by Dr Grosart that nearly all his title-pages were accusations, and one of his worst is against good Richard Baxter himself. It runs thus—*A Review and Conclusion of the ANTIDOTE against Mr Baxter's PALLIATED CURE of Church Divisions. Wherein Mr Baxter's late Repentance is examined, All his immodest Calumnies con-*

*futed, and the Grounds of Separation further Cleared.*—‘*Ephraim is joyned to Idols : let him alone.*’ Nor can we clear even Baxter of violence towards those who went farther than he, as our extract from the *Sheet for the Ministry* proves. But Baxter lived to grow sick of the polemical air which everyone then had to breathe. ‘The older I grew,’ he wrote afterwards, ‘the smaller stress I laid on those controversies and curiosities (though still my intellect abhorreth confusion), as finding greater uncertainties in them than I at first discerned, and finding less usefulness where there is greater uncertainty.’

A few more titles may be worth quoting, since they give a vivid impression of their author’s intention. Burton, another of those who had suffered in the pillory, very soon after Laud’s execution issued a pamphlet entitled ‘*The Grand Imposter unmasked, or a Detection of the Notorious Hypocrisie and Desperate Impiety of the late Archbishop (so styled) of Canterbury cunningly couched in that written Copy which he read on the Scaffold at his Execution.*’ And Burton was a brother clergyman of the same Church as Laud! Some of the tracts bore titles that seem curiously irreverent to modern ears, as Burton’s *Jesu-Worship con-*

*futed*, which was nothing worse than an argument against bowing at the holy Name. Prynne was always happy in this long-forgotten art; as for instance his *Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops*, or *A Gagge for Long-Hair'd Rattle-Heads*, or '*The Quakers Unmasked*, and clearly detected to be but the spawn of Romish Frogs, Jesuites and Franciscan Freers, sent from Rome to seduce the intoxicated giddy-headed English Nation.' Prynne, who was always in hot water with some one, assailed Milton and Lilburne (a prolific pamphleteer himself) and even his fellow-sufferer Burton, and fought the Commonwealth as steadily as he had fought the Bishops; he also wrote against the Papists, the Jews, and the Independents, as in '*Independency, Examined, Unmask'd and Refuted*, 1644.' His chief anti-episcopal pamphlet bears the delightful title—'*The Unbishopsing of Timothy and Titus*, or A Briefe elaborate Discourse, proving Timothy to be no Bishop (much lesse a sole or Diocaesan Bishop) of Ephesus, nor Titus of Crete; and that the power of ordination, or imposition\* of hands, belongs *jure divino* to Presbyters as well as to Bishops, and not to Bishops onely.' Could the matter be put better? Such pamphlets must have carried

conviction even to those who were too lazy to read beyond the title-page.

Besides an extract from another production of Prynne, I have given the reader a taste of Bastwick, who for a peculiar excellence in scurrility is not surpassed even by his fellow heroes of the pillory. The *Litany* is interesting too as having been the immediate cause of landing him in the Star Chamber. As for these men, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, it is certainly no matter of wonder that their writings got them into trouble. But the unwise policy of the King in making martyrs of them did more for the cause of constitutionalism than all the sheets they had written.

Into the midst of all this wrangling over every letter of Scripture, every detail of ceremonial, came the great protest of George Fox, crying upon men to give up externalism, and to follow the light within. The truth which the Quakers enunciated was just what the age had forgotten; but unfortunately these men, soon to become famous for their peaceableness, began not less violently than the rest: indeed their strong belief in personal inspiration led them to a conviction of their own infallibility, which did not make them modest or temperate disputants. The large literature of Quaker

controversy is, if less sparkling, hardly more charitable than that which immediately preceded it; though, it must be confessed, these devoted prophets had some cause for bitterness against the religious world. Fox I have quoted as the fountain-head and most reliable guide to the great principle of his society, and a title-page of Whitehead for the glimpse he gives us of the controversy which raged around the movement. Penn and Fisher I pass over with reluctance; for Penn's *Battledore* is an interesting defence of the use of Thee and Thou, while his *Sandy Foundation Shaken* is valuable for its attack on the horrible creed of Calvin, and the tritheism resulting therefrom; and Fisher's *Scorned Quaker's Account* presents a most vivid picture of his rushing into Parliament and there delivering his message.

One great name I have omitted from this collection because it is so amply represented in the companion volumes. Milton was greater as a literary and political than as a religious pamphleteer; and, as it was hardly possible to include his works in all the volumes of this series, I have thought it better that the religious volume, already so overcrowded, should be the one to suffer. It has been easier to make this sacrifice because none of Milton's

religious pamphlets quite do him justice. His *Hirelings*, *Reasons of Church Government*, and *Prelatical Episcopacy* are almost too long to be called pamphlets at all, while his *True Religion*, *Heresy*, *Schism and Toleration*, called forth by the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, presents nothing more creditable than an argument against extending toleration to Roman Catholics.

The name of Milton suggests the reflection that some great poems have been really pamphlets in verse; much of Milton's controversial writing was summed up in the splendid lines of *Lycidas*, which begin—

'How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,  
Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,  
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold !'

But Dryden was the great example of a pamphleteer in verse. His *Religio Laici*, which is a defence of the English Church, and the better known apology for that of Rome, *The Hind and the Panther*, are both of them great pamphlets as well as great poems. And the *Religio Laici* has this further distinction, that it rises quite out of the level of contemporary religious controversy, in its broad and genial temper and its desire to include even the heathen in the love and mercy of God.

With the Restoration Puritanism in its old sense is dead. It had been tried and found intolerable by the English people: it no longer attempts to capture the Church organisation, but in a milder and more religious form becomes known as Dissent. The word Non-conformist, which had been always used to describe a Churchman who objected to some of the Church ceremonies and doctrines, gives place to the word which presupposes an organisation dissenting and distinct from the National Church. The Act of Uniformity draws very definitely the final line of cleavage, and men like Baxter are forced to resign their cures, some, like him, to continue to communicate at their parish churches as 'nonconformist ministers but conformist parishioners,' the greater number to renounce all communion whatever. England is now definitely divided into separate religious bodies, and this, with the Romanising policy of James II., reopens in its acutest form the problem of toleration. In Lord Halifax's *Letter to a Dissenter* we have the Protestant aspect of the question presented in one of the most skilful and influential pamphlets ever written.

Throughout this period, however, Dissent steadily declined, and the interest of re-

ligious controversy is henceforward on the side of the Church. The lessening of Dissent as an interest opposed to the Church was still in progress when Mosheim wrote in 1740, though Calvinistic ideas were at that time on the increase among Churchmen; and, if we except the Methodist Revival—which was a Church movement so long as it was a genuine revival, from 1739 till John Wesley's death in 1791—there is no further religious movement of importance on that side.

Our next two pamphlets, therefore, written by Charles Leslie and Defoe at the beginning of the eighteenth century, represent the Church on the one side in the hey-day of popularity and Dissent on the other as depressed and in danger of persecution. Defoe's immortal satire, *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*, so subtle and restrained as to deceive its victims into the belief that it was written by one of themselves, is a worthy exposure of the narrowness and intolerance which were the curse of High Churchmen; though at the same time it helps one to understand the causes which led to that intolerance, so thoroughly does Defoe present his enemies' case. Charles Leslie, the Non-juror, one of the ablest and most active of pamphleteers, was a typical example of these



Churchmen who united to great learning and piety a curious inability to understand or appreciate the position of other men. This narrowness, with the incurable political bias that possessed them, caused the succession of Ken and Sancroft to die out, and the flourishing churchmanship of Queen Anne's reign to give place to the unexampled apathy of the Hanoverian age. *The Wolf Stript* shows how closely akin was the theology which immediately preceded the Hanoverian period to that of the Catholic Revival which marked its close.

Very different to both these men was Swift, the prince of pamphleteers. Yet, in spite of his failure to realise many of the Christian virtues, Swift's churchmanship amounted to a genuine passion, without being, as his biographer tells us, 'either intolerant or tantivy.' His *Argument against the Abolishing of Christianity* brings us face to face with the Deistic movement, which, though it died out before the middle of the century, yet had a curiously lasting effect upon religion in England by virtue of the utilitarian spirit which it helped to engender among the leading Christian apologists, of which spirit Swift's humorous *Argument* might almost seem to be a deliberate

parody. The leading Deists, Toland, Collins, Tindal, were controversialists on too large a scale for our purpose here.

Of the Latitudinarian movement I have only quoted a section of William Law's brilliant answer to Bishop Hoadly, since the rest of the dreary Bangorian Controversy would hardly be tolerable to modern readers. Law's three answers to the Bishop are, according to their latest editor, Canon Gore, among the dozen best pamphlets ever written for wit, brilliancy and force; and moreover Hoadly himself did not venture to reply to them. Law, therefore, apart from his great name, deserves a place in this collection; and his inclusion gives us a statement of the typically Anglican position without which this collection might seem to give undue prominence to the exponents of other creeds.

Law is also important for other reasons. He is a representative of the mystics, without whom no picture of religious history would be complete. He is a link between the Catholic school of Hooker, Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor and Ken, and that of the Oxford Movement, enforcing for instance the doctrine of the apostolic succession, which appeared so fresh and startling when pressed anew in that seventh of

the *Tracts for the Times* with which I conclude this collection. He was also far ahead of his times in breadth of view; his exposition of the Atonement, for instance, in the *Spirit of Love, Spirit of Prayer* and *Appeal to all that Doubt*, might have come from the writers of *Lux Mundi*.

Law represents, moreover, the best type of pamphleteer that religious controversy has produced. A Latitudinarian himself in a higher sense of that ill-used word, he had the deepest sympathy with those who were outside his communion, saying once that he would like the truth no less because Ignatius Loyola, or John Bunyan, or George Fox were very zealous for it. Who else could have written such words at that time? Or who else could have said in an age, when controversy was still deformed by virulent personalities, that 'by the grace of God he would never have any personal contention with anyone'? To those words he kept faithful in the face of great provocation, and therefore he deserves a place of peculiar honour in the strangely assorted crowd of pamphleteers.

With this gentle voice that cried in the prosaic wilderness of the Hanoverian period we might well leave the subject of religious

pamphlets ; for their ascendancy now began to wane before the gathering force of journalism. But, passing over the Methodist and the Evangelical revivals, which are distinguished rather by 'tracts' than by pamphlets, two great names arrest our attention ; the one marking the tardy completion of the great idea of toleration, the other leading the way in the great religious movement of our own times ; Sydney Smith, the Anglican, who wrote in defence of the persecuted Roman Catholics, and Newman, the convert to Rome, who led the way in the Anglican Revival. The one brings to its end the long chapter of militant Protestantism, as Wiclif had begun it ; the other and earlier writer rings the death knell of that spirit of intolerance which had accompanied the struggle. Sydney Smith, devoid of any sympathy with Catholic principles, yet by the force of his generous wit, and in sheer pity for those whom he did not understand, prepares the way for the recovery of the Roman Church. Toleration has come at last, toleration not only for Puritans and Papists, but for all ; and that which even Milton could not grasp has passed into the common heritage of Englishmen.

Thus does the long list of religious pamphleteers carry us through the various stages

of the shifting and bitter struggle. Many whom I would have liked to include I have been compelled to omit; and of these, besides those already mentioned, I would here name two, which I left out with special reluctance, John Wesley's *Plain Account of the People called Methodists*, and Whately's *Historic Doubts*.

The value of the pamphlet to the student of history, and of that product of history which we call contemporary thought, is, I am convinced, far greater than is generally imagined. Most of us get our ideas of the past and its present developments through the refracting medium of modern writers, and some of us have not yet escaped from the thralldom of Macaulay; at the best we are apt to judge the past by the lives of a few great leaders. But the peculiar usefulness of the pamphlet is that it gives us a picture of the popular mind. It presents the claims of the various movements which struggled for supremacy, not refined for an intellectual aristocracy, but as they had to be made to the average man of the world. Pamphlets thus reveal to us not only the mind of their writers, but the mind of the public for whom they were written. Already we have passed out of the 'drum and trumpet' notion of history, already we

have ceased to interpret the history of a people by the record of its kings, but we still attach undue importance to the lives of its leaders. And hero-worship, though a useful and pleasant recreation, does not reveal to us the passions, thoughts, aspirations and prejudices of a people. Historians tell us of certain causes which produced certain revolutions; but we want to know what caused those causes. We want to know the social life of the people and what they were thinking about, the talk and sermons and books and pamphlets which set things moving. And, if the talk and the sermons cannot be recovered, while the books are too bulky for all but a few specialists, the pamphlets, which had a still greater popular appeal, can easily be put within our reach. Indeed, when we look, we find these pamphlets preparing the way for each great movement, as thought germinates among the people. Before the Reformation, we see Wiclif sowing the seed; before even the autocratic Tudor dared to attack the clergy, Fish is setting men a-talking in the streets; and before the Church revival of our own day, there were the *Tracts for the Times*. For it is the people who settle the course of history, the people who can read

pamphlets and newspapers, or can hear them read; it is the people in the end who have to decide, even under a Tudor *régime*, by their acquiescence, their support, or their rebellion. It is the man in the street, as he trudges to his work with the written word in his pocket, who spreads that subtle atmosphere which forms the policy of kings and statesmen; and it is the writer that can persuade him to listen who creates the atmosphere. Nor has it ever been otherwise; for the people have always been in a majority, even when they chose to sell their power for a measure of protection and peace.

But the pamphlet has now melted into the journal, the monthly review, or cheaply printed book; and those which are still printed for the propagation of young causes (though far more powerful than is commonly thought) are written more for friends than for enemies, since the public no longer buys broadsheets of the hawker in the streets. The writing thereof is almost a lost art, and what we have gained in sobriety we have lost in racy directness. For the old writers of those breezy libels at least said what they meant, though often they seem to us to have said more than it was well to say. And the historian of future times can hardly have such ready material as the pamphlet affords to us;

for our newspapers are neither so concentrated nor so permanent as those earlier 'paper lanterns,' and our reviews are not so popular. The value to us of pamphlets is that they give the spirit of the movements they proclaim just as it really was; not refined for the expert, nor yet scamped for the newsvendor, but condensed so as to win the general approval, or acidified so as to bite their way into that brazen conscience which is the hope and the despair of the reformer. Thus in the pamphlet we can read the populace. If they loved pungent English prose, and preferred any excesses to mere invertebrate apathy we may take what heart of grace we can of our respectability; if they sometimes bit asunder their own tongues with very wrath, we may yet remember that there were always men who could say with Richard Baxter, 'While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying, and passing to the world that will decide all controversies; and the safest passage thither is by peaceable holiness.'

PERCY DEARMER.



# I

## JOHN WICLIF

[Wiclif (c. 1320-1384) did not become a pamphleteer till near the close of his life, about 1379, though his great work *De Dominio* had appeared twenty years before. His translation of the Bible, which was begun about the same time and finished 1383-4, was an even more important sign of his appeal to the people, while Langland's *Piers the Plowman* (1380), and in part the Peasant Revolt of 1381, showed that others had been busy spreading his famous doctrine of Dominion. He is the first of English prose-writers, and his prose takes the form of pamphlets and sermons, besides his English Bible. The most famous of his tracts, *The Wyket*, is a sermon on the Eucharist, and therefore cannot legitimately be included in a collection of pamphlets. Besides *Septem Hereses*, many others have come down to us, among them *The Church and her Members*, which is too long for our purpose, and *Vita Sacerdotum*, which deals mainly with the evil of private property among the clergy. Of Wiclif's writings against the Friars Mr T. Arnold, the Editor of the Oxford edition, gives us the warning—"That the portrait which Wyclif draws of his adversaries is an entirely fair and truthful one cannot seem probable to any reasonable man. William of Wykeham, the model prelate of those times, was not a saint, but he certainly was still

less that monster of simony, hypocrisy, pride, and sensuality which the imagination of Wyclif creates as the normal character of an English Bishop. And in spite of abuses, the same is true of the monks and friars." The writings of Wyclif and the Lollards ought, he says, to be taken in connection with the great apogloetic reply of Thomas of Walden, the *Doctrinale Fidei*. Walden however is not far from Wyclif's narrowness of vision; for, if Wyclif cannot discern a virtue in the friars, Walden is unable to discover a fault in them.

## SEPTEM HERESSES

### CONTRA SEPTEM PETICIONES.<sup>1</sup>

FOR fals men multiplien mony bokes of the Chirche, nowe reendynge by leve,<sup>2</sup> and nowe clowtyng heresies, therefore men schulden be ware of these two perilles, that fals men pynchyn in the Pater noster. Thai say furst, that speciale prayere aplyed by hor prelatys is better then generale. As, one Famulorum<sup>3</sup> saide of a frere is better then a Pater noster, with other thinges even; ffor tho Pater noster is moste generale, and the Famulorum moste special, of alle the prayers that God heris. But

<sup>1</sup> Seven heresies against the seven petitions in the Lord's prayer. The tract is divided into seven sections, each dealing with one petition.

<sup>2</sup> rending belief.

<sup>3</sup> The name given to the Commemoration of the living in the Canon of the Mass,—*Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum*, etc.

we schul beleve that no prayer is worthe, but in als muche as God hym selfe heris hit, and applies this prayere to profite of the man. Lord! whether God hym selfe wolde gladlier here the preyere that a false man hade contred to hym, then the generale preyere that he hym selfe made? Wele I wote that this preyere is ful of witte and charite, and conceves<sup>1</sup> alle the gode that a man schuld aske of God. Hit is one to say thus, and to heghen Anticriste over oure Lorde Jesus Criste, that is oure alle fader. The generalte of this preyere lettes not oure Lord God to here syngulere personys, aftur thei ben worthi.

#### SECUNDA HERESIS.

The secunde heresie of the secunde askyng<sup>2</sup> sais, that these prelatis are hedes of Gods rewme,<sup>3</sup> for thei ben hedus of holy Chirche by vertue of prelacie. Ande these freres bene men of holy Chirche, that wole here be gladliere hedes of holy Chirche then othen comyne<sup>4</sup> men. Lord! sithen God and iche membre of his Chirche bene weddid togedre, as oure bileve sais, whether ony of these prestus schul be dampned in helle? Wele I wote that none schal be dampned but devellis; ande if ony of

<sup>1</sup> comprises.

<sup>2</sup> petition.

<sup>3</sup> realm.

<sup>4</sup> common.

these devellis were capteyne of his Chirche, then God and the devell were weddid togedre. But as oure bileve sais that ther is no comynynge with Crist and Belial, then thai ben not weddid. Herfore schal we trowe, as holy men taught of two thowsande yere byfore that Sathanas was bounden, that holy Chirche is of thos that God has ordeyned to dwelle with hym in blisse, of what state so thai be, prestes or seculeres, lordis or comyners, ladies or pore wymmen, that endles loven God. And so some partie of the Chirche regnes above in heven, and summe slepis in purgatorie, and summe feyghttes<sup>1</sup> here in erthe. But at the day of dome schulle alle be gedrid<sup>2</sup> togedir, and regne in heven with hor spouse, oure Lord Jesus Crist. So if that prelatis or freris or seculers sewe<sup>3</sup> not Criste in manere of hor lyvyng, thai were never Cristis spouse, ne membris of his Chirche.

### TERTIA HERESIS.

Ye thrid heresie of the thridde askyng sais, that thai knowe the wille of oure Lord God to bringe a soule to heven by manere of hor preyng. But certis we schul trowe, That God may not be moved but as he has ordeyned

<sup>1</sup> fights.

<sup>2</sup> gathered.

<sup>3</sup> sue, follow.

bifore the worlde was made ; and aftur a man deserves while he lyves here schal he be rewardid aftur his lyfe, outhur in blisse other in peyne, notwithstondynge oure preyere. But wel I wote that God may helpe soulis in purgatorie, and make hom schortliere to dwelle therinne, after that thei have made hom worthi for the tyme that thei have lyved here. But we schal understonde that God acceptis the lyfe that men lyven here wele, ande approves hit for soulis, and theraftur hit is medefulle for soules that bene in purgatorye. Ande if we knowe not the privete of God, yit nevertholes we wote that hit is fully rightwysenes, that prayer of a man that God hath ordeyned to blisse is more worthye then a thowsande of hom that schal be dampned. Ffor the furst is Gods childe, and ordeyned to have his blis, the secund is the fendus childe. And pray he never so muche, he getes not the blisse of heven, for he makes hym not worthi. Ande this faithe shulde move men not to selle hor prayers, but iche man life bisili, iche aftur the lawe of God ; ffor aftur that a man deserves in his owne persoyne schal he be rewardid, in heven or in helle. But gode lyve of a man may helpe hym that lyves with hym, to amende his owne lyfe, and so come to blisse. And so private almes

done syngulerlyche, that Crist hymself taught not, dos littel gode or none to donor of siche almes for to come to heven.

#### QUARTA HERESIS.

The ferthe heresie of the ferthe askynge says, that the sacrid ooste<sup>1</sup> is no maner of brede, but outh<sup>2</sup> nought, or accident withouten ony sogett,<sup>3</sup> and so worse then stones or ony other body.<sup>4</sup> And when ony suche men asken the sacrid ooste, thai gyven hom worse then stones, as thai falsly feynen. Ffor this were ageynes holy writte, as Crist hymself sais. Lordus and prelat<sup>us</sup> con not distroye this heresie, outh<sup>er</sup> for hor negligence, or for tho wiles of Anticrist. Lord! if these grete lordus wold gif these prestis no gode, ne freris, bifore thai schewid her bileve in this poynt, and groundid hit in Gods law! and so thai myght come to bileve, and knowe these fals heretikis. We have oft tymes saide that this sacrid ooste

<sup>1</sup> host.

<sup>2</sup> either.

<sup>3</sup> subject.

<sup>4</sup> Wiclif was constant in affirming the Real Presence in the strongest language, as here that the Host is 'very God's Body': his objection to the current theory of transubstantiation was, like that theory itself, purely metaphysical. He himself used the word Transubstantiation, but attacked the current theory on the technical ground that 'accidents' could not exist without a substance in which to inhere.

is verrey Goddis body and verrey breede,<sup>1</sup> for so sais holy writte, and seyntes of Crist thowsandis.

#### QUINTA HERESIS.

The fyfft heresie, contened of the fyfft askynge, says, that prestis have powere to assoyle<sup>2</sup> men of synne, whom ever the pope lymytes, at his owne wille. Ande absolucions and indulgencis bothe fallen in mannes chaffare by bynge and sellynge; and so men may lightly for money be assoyled bothe of peyne and of synne, be thai never so synneful. But oure bileve techis us, that no synne is forgyven but if God hymself forgif furste of alle. Ande if his trewe vicare acorde to Gods wille, he may assoyle of synne as vicary of his God. But if he discorde from juggement of his God, he assoyles not, boste he never so muche. Ande herfore hit is nedeful that a preste have two keyes, of powere and of cunnyng,<sup>3</sup> to acorde to Gods wille. Ffor if he want this connyng he nouthere byndes ne assoyles; ne hit is not byleve that ne he may erre in this. Ande

<sup>1</sup> bread. Wiclif's theory, as here expressed, worked out more fully in his treatises, was that which came to be known as consubstantiation. Luther adopted it, but it never took any hold in England.

<sup>2</sup> absolve.      <sup>3</sup> wisdom.

amonge alle heresies or blasphemyes in oure Chirche, this is one the moste that men bene deceyved inne. And if a man speke herof by the law of God, he schal be prisoned, or done to deth as an heretike.

#### SEXTA HERESIS.

The sexte heresie, contened of the sexte askyng, sais, that men of private religioun bene more thikk saved then men that kepe trewly comyne Cristus religione; ffor, as thai say, thai have helpe of hor owne brether, specially in houre of hor deth, of body and of soule, and so bene not lad in to fendus<sup>1</sup> temptacioun. But oure bileve techis us that comyn Cristus religioun passes al religioun of these newe ordris. Lorde! whedur we schuld trowe that Benet and Dominik, or Ffraunces, schuld passe the wisdomed of Criste? Or whedur hit be wisdomed to obeysche to siche prelatys, and bye the wille of Crist, that is God and thine abbot. Wele I wote that the Chirche was rewlyd by Cristis ordynaunce, bifore these ordris coomen inne, better then hit was sithen. Ande so, sithen these religiouse dyen in this false triste, and have lyved in ypocrisie for the more parte of hore lyve, hit semes that suche gone prively

<sup>1</sup> fiend's.



til helle, and so be led in to fendus temptacioun, for thai ben hardid in errour of hor private ordris. And herfore clepid Crist Nichodeme fro the ordre of Phariseus, savyng hym and destroyng of hit. Withouten doute tho ordynaunce that Crist hym selfe ordeyned, if hit were holden clene, hit were the beste of other ; ffor therby is ilke degre myght iche man be saved. Ffor then wolde charite growe more, and envie be more distroyed. Thre membris of the Chirche, as prestis, knyghttus, and laboreris, wolden be sufficient withouten more diversite. God kepe his Chirche. Amen.

#### SEPTIMA HERESIS.

The sevent heresie and the last, that is contened of the sevent askyng, sais, that if we wirke by counsel of these newe ordris that leven<sup>1</sup> the ordynaunce of Criste, we schal redely<sup>2</sup> be saved. And herby bene men lad in to fendus temptacioun, and wrappid with synne ageyne the Holy Goste ; and this is the werste synne that ever may falle to ony man. Wele I wote that freris wold not here this publischt in the pepul, for fallyng of hor ordre. But sithen it is not groundid in bileve, he is not on Gods halve that lettis hit for freris. Ande we schulde

<sup>1</sup> leave.

<sup>2</sup> of necessity.

trow that foundyng of abbays and frerus and lettys mon<sup>1</sup> that ne thai mowe<sup>2</sup> falle in the last synne. And herfore alle maner of men schuld know Cristis ordynaunce, and travaile therfore that hit were clenly kept ; for hit is moste light, most profitable, and moste medeful. O Lord ! if al the peple in Yngelonde traveyled in alle cuntreyes, and falsed the kyngis wille movyng to discordis agheynes the pes of the rewme,<sup>3</sup> who wolde not say that suche a peple were perilouse in Yngelonde ? mykel more if newe religious be skaterud in Cristendame, and gabben<sup>4</sup> on the wille of Criste that is oure kyng, and moven not to pes and acorde as Crist and his apostilles did. What wonder is hit, thou batellis and other perillus come, that Crist has bifore saide ? God kep his Chirche fro fals ypocrites and ungroundid newe statis,<sup>5</sup> not foundid in Crystes lawe. Wele I wote that many say that monye of hom are seyntus ; but nowther is this bileve, ne groundid in resone. *Omnis plantacio quam non plantavit pater meus, eradicabitur, dicit Dominus in evangelio Johannis.*

<sup>1</sup> Something appears to be omitted here.      <sup>2</sup> must.

<sup>3</sup> peace of the realm.      <sup>4</sup> scoff.      <sup>5</sup> states of life.

## II

### SIMON FISH

[Simon Fish, who died of the plague in 1531, was a member of Oxford University and Gray's Inn, which he entered about 1525. Having taken part in a play which held Cardinal Wolsey up to ridicule, he fled into the Low Countries. But he soon came back to London, where he acted as agent for the sale of Tyndal's New Testament. Foxe, the martyrologist, gives two contradictory stories of the way in which the *Supplicacyon* came before the king. The more probable of these states that it was brought to Henry by two London merchants who read it to him aloud. When they had done, the king, after a moment's silence, said: 'If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head,' meaning that Fish's proposal for dealing with the religious houses was hazardous advice until the royal supremacy had been established. Foxe says that copies of the libel were 'strawne abroade in the streetes of London,' at the meeting of Parliament and therefore probably with the connivance of someone in authority. The cardinal, he says, set about diligently to gather them up that they should not come into the king's hands: but, hearing that the king had received one or two copies, he went to him saying, 'If it please your grace here are divers seditious persons which have scattered

abroad bookes conteyning manifest errors and heresies,' and desiring his grace to beware of them. 'Wherefore the king, putting his hand to his bosome, tooke out one of the bookes and delivered it unto the Cardinall."

The scene is dramatic enough. But it must be remembered that, four years before the *Supplicacyon* began to whet the royal appetite, Wolsey had himself suppressed monasteries at Oxford and elsewhere, and that with the express authority of two Papal bulls, nor was Wolsey's action without ample precedent.

The *Supplicacyon* became the model for a series of pamphlets couched in the same form, three of which have been edited by Dr Furnivall with the *Beggars* in the Early English Text Society Series. Fish's pamphlet pretends to be a petition from the beggars, complaining that they have been robbed of their alms by the superior begging of the friars; it then proceeds to a general denunciation of all the clergy.

Sir Thomas More wrote in reply *The Supplicacyon of Soulyis*, which is a folio. In it More makes one of the souls in Purgatory say of Fish that, 'He is named and boasted among us by the evil angel of his, our and your ghostly enemy, the devil; which as soon as he had set him at work with that pernicious book, ceased not to come hither, and boast among us: but with his enmious and envious laughter, gnashing the teeth and grinning, he told us that his people [the Reformers] had, by the advice and counsel of him [the Devil], and of some heretics almost as evil as he, made such a book for beggars, that it should make us beg long ere we got aught.'

On the general question of clerical immorality, it may be admitted that, among the hosts of men in orders, there were many who found the vow of

celibacy too great a strain. Such laxity could not have been uncommon at this time, for Wolsey himself was the father of a family, as were many of the Popes, nor does the public conscience seem to have been offended at this. A little later we find Cardinal Pole admitting that the enforcement of celibacy on all the clergy was a mistake. As for the charges of immorality and corruption against the monasteries, it may safely be stated that historians no longer consider them borne out by the evidence which recent research has collected. Their wealth, too, was popularly supposed to be much greater than it was. Fish's errors in this matter are alluded to in the notes.]

## A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS

TO THE KING OURE SOUEREYNE LORDE

MOST lamentably compleyneth theyre wofull misery unto youre highnes youre poore daily bedemen the wretched hidous monstres (on whome scarcely for horror any yie dare loke) the foule unhappy sorte of lepres, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike, that live onely by almesse, howe that theyre nombre is daily so sore encreased that all the almesse of all the weldisposed people of this youre realme is not half ynough for to susteine them, but that for verey constreint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is comen uppon youre saide poore

beedmen by the reason that there is yn the tymes of youre noble predecessours passed craftily crept ynto this your realme an other sorte (not of impotent but) of strong puissaunt and counterfeit holy, and ydell beggers and vacabundes whiche syns the tyme of theyre first entre by all the craft and wilinesse of Satan are nowe encreased under your sight not onely into a great nombre, but also ynto a kingdome. These are (not the herdes,<sup>1</sup> but the ravinous wolves going in herdes clothing devouring the flocke) the Bishoppes, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archedeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes, Chanons, Freres, Pardoners, and Somners.<sup>2</sup> And who is abill to nombre this idell ravinous sort whiche (setting all laboure a side) have begged so importunately that they have gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the therd part of all youre Realme. The goodliest lordshippes, maners, londes, and territories, are theyrs. Besides this they have the tenth part of all the corne, medowe, pasture, grasse, wolle, coltes, calves, lambes, pigges, gese, and chickens. Over and bisides the tenth part of every servauntes wages the tenth part of the wolle,

<sup>1</sup> Shepherds.

<sup>2</sup> The Summoner or Apparitor was the officer employed to cite parties before the ecclesiastical courts.

milke, hony, waxe, chese, and butter. Ye<sup>1</sup> and they loke so narrowly upon theyre provfittes that the poore wifves must be countable to theym of every tenth eg or elles she gettith not her ryghtes at ester shalbe taken as an heretike. hereto have they theirre foure offering daies. whate money pull they yn by probates of testamentes, privy tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgrimages, and at theyre first masses? Every man and childe that is buried must pay sumwhat for masses and diriges<sup>2</sup> to be song for him or elles they will accuse the dedes<sup>3</sup> frendes and executours of heresie. whate money get they by mortuaries,<sup>4</sup> by hearing of confessions (and yet they wil kepe therof no counceyle) by halowing of churches altares superaltares chapelles and belles, by cursing of men and absolving them agein for money? what a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a yere? Howe moche money get the Somners by extorcion yn a yere, by assestyng the people to the commissaries court and afterward releasing th<sup>5</sup> apparaunce for money? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging freres

<sup>1</sup> Yea.

<sup>2</sup> Diriges, from *Dirige in conspectu tuo viam meam* in v. 8 of Psalm v., the first of the Dirge Psalms. <sup>3</sup> dead's.

<sup>4</sup> A mortuary was a gift left by a dying man to his parish church. <sup>5</sup> the.

whate get they yn a yere? Here if it please your grace to marke ye shall se a thing farre out of ioynt. There are withyn youre realme of Englonde, lii. thousand parisshe churches.<sup>1</sup> And this standing that there be but tenne housholdes yn every parisshe yet are there five hundreth thousand and twenty thousand housholdes. And of every of these housholdes hath every of the five ordres of freres a peny a quarter for every ordre, that is for all the five ordres five pens a quarter for every house. That is for all the five ordres xx.d, a yere of every house. Summa five hundreth thousand and twenty thousand quarters of angels.

That is cclx. thousand half angels. Summa cxxx. thousand angels. Summa totalis xliiii. thousand poundes and cccxxxiii.li. vi.s. viii.d. sterling, wherof not foure hundreth veres passed<sup>2</sup> they had not one peny. Oh grevous and peynfull exactions thus yerely to be paied. from the whiche the people of your nobill predecessours the kinges of the auncient Britons ever stode fre. And this wil they have or els they wil procure him that will not give

<sup>1</sup> 'That is one plain lie to begin with,' is More's comment. Fish counts every hamlet as a parish; and then argues that if each 'parish' has on an average ten households, and each household gives one penny per quarter to each of the five mendicant orders, then £43,333, 6s. 8d. is given annually to the Friars alone.

<sup>2</sup> years ago.



it them to be taken as an heretike. whate tiraunt ever oppressed the people like this cruell and vengeable generacion? whate subiectes shall be abill to helpe theire prince that be after this facion yerely polled? whate good christen people can be abill to socoure us pore lepres blinde sore, and lame, that be thus yerely oppressed? Is it any merueille that youre people so compleine of povertie? Is it any merveile that the taxes fiftenes and subsidies that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken emong your people to defend them from the thretened ruine of theire comon welth have bin so sloughtfully, ye painfully levied? Seeing that almost the utmost peny that mought have bin levied hath ben gathered bifore yerely by this ravinous cruell and insatiabill generacion. The danes nether the saxons yn the time of the auncient Britons shulde never have ben abill to have brought theire armies from so farre hither ynto your lond to have conquered it if they had had at that time suche a sort of idell glotons to finde at home. The nobill king Arthur had never ben abill to have caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure if suche verely<sup>1</sup> exac-

<sup>1</sup> yearly.

tion had ben taken of his people. The grekes had never ben abill to have so long continued at the siege of Troie if they had had at home suche an idell sort of cormorauntes to finde. The auncient Romains had never ben abil to have put all the hole worlde under theyre obeisaunce if theyre people had byn thus yerely oppressed. The Turke nowe yn youre tyme shulde never be abill to get so moche grounde of cristendome if he had yn his empire suche a sort of locustes to devoure his substance. Ley then these sommes to the forseid therd part of the possessions of the realme that ye may se whether it drawe nighe unto the halfe of the hole substaunce of the realme or not, so shall ye finde that it draweth ferre above.<sup>1</sup> Nowe let us then compare the nombre of this unkind idell sort unto the nombre of the laye people and we shall se whether it be indifferently shifted or not that they shuld have half.

Compare them to the nombre of men, so are

<sup>1</sup> The monasteries came to own about one third of the land, and one third of the tithe, of England. The losers on the tithe were of course the parishes: as for the land, the monks were very good landlords. The total value of *all* ecclesiastical and monastic property, including the universities was given by the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (the State return of 1535) as £320,280, 10s. Of this only about one half was monastic property.

they not the .C. person.<sup>1</sup> Compare them to men wimen and children, then are they not the CCCC. parson<sup>2</sup> yn nombre. One part therfore yn foure hundreth partes devided were to moche for them except they did laboure. whate an unequal burthen is it that they have halfe with the multitude and are not the .CCCC. parson of their nombre? whate tongue is abill to tell that ever there was eny comon welth so sore oppressed sins the worlde first began?

¶ And whate do al these gredy sort of sturdy idell holy theves with these yerely exactions that they take of the people? Truely nothing but exempt them silves from th obedience of your grace.<sup>3</sup> Nothing but translate all rule power lordshippe auctorite obedience and dignite from your grace unto them. Nothing but that all your subiectes shulde fall ynto disobedience and rebellion ageinst your grace and be under them. As they did unto your nobill predecessour king John:<sup>4</sup> whiche forbicause that he wolde have punisshed certeyn traytours that had conspired with

<sup>1</sup> One person in a hundred.

<sup>2</sup> One person in 400.

<sup>3</sup> Fish's appeal throughout to Tudor despotism is significant.

<sup>4</sup> The absolutist Fish even denounces *Magna Carta*.

the frenche king to have deposed him from his crowne and dignite (among the whiche a clerke called Stephen<sup>1</sup> whome afterward against the kinges will the Pope made Bisshoppe of Caunterbury was one) enterdited his Lond.<sup>2</sup> For the whiche mater your most nobill realme wrongfully (alas for shame) hath stond tributary (not unto any kind temporall prince, but unto a cruell develisshe bloudsupper dronken in the bloude of the sayntes and marters of christ) eversins. Here were an holy sort of prelates that thus cruelly coude punissh suche a rightuous kinge, all his realme, and succession for doing right.

¶ Here were a charitable sort of holy men that coude thus enterdite an hole realme, and plucke away th obedience of the people from theyre naturall liege lorde and kinge, for none other cause but for his rightuousnesse. Here were a blissed sort not of meke herdes but of bloudsuppers that coude set the frenche king uppon suche a rightuous prince to cause hym to lose his crowne and dignite to make effusion

<sup>1</sup> The noble Stephen Langton, who led the revolt against King John and forced the Great Charter from him. Langton had been appointed to the archiepiscopal see by Pope Innocent III.

<sup>2</sup> Land. Innocent put England under an interdict on John's attempting to exclude Langton from the see. The 'nobill' John then became the Pope's vassal.

of the bloude of his people, oneles this good and blissed king of greate compassion, more fearing and lamenting the sheding of the bloud of his people then the losse of his crowne and dignite agaynst all right and conscience had submitted him silf unto theym. O case most horrible that ever so nobill a king Realme, and succession shulde thus be made to stoupe to suche a sort of bloodsuppers. where was his swerde, power, crowne, and dignite become wherby he mought have done iustice yn this maner? where was their obedience become that shuld have byn subiect under his highe power yn this mater? Ye where was the obedience of all his subiects become that for mainteinaunce of the comon welth shulde have holpen him manfully to have resisted these bloodsuppers to the shedinge of theyre bloude? was not all to gither by theyre polyce translated from this good king unto them. Ye and what do they more? Truely nothing but applie theym silves by all the sleyghtes they may have to do with every mannes wife, every mannes doughter and every mannes mayde that cuckoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne over all emong your subiectes, that no man shulde knowe his owne childe that theyre bastardes might enherite the possessions of every man

to put the right begotten children clere beside their inheritauce yn subversion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by their absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people wher by all the realme at length if it shulde be continued shall be made desert and inhabitable.<sup>1</sup>

¶ These be they that have made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your realme whiche wolde have gotten theyre lyving honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected them to unclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankind yn your realme, that catche the pokkes of one woman, and bere them to an other, that be brent wyth one woman, and bere it to an other, that catche the leproy of one woman, and bere it to an other, ye some one of them shall bost emong his felawes that he hath medled with an hundreth wyemen. These be they that when they have ones drawn mennes wives to such incontynency spende away their husbondes goodes make the wimen to runne away from their husbondes, ye, rynne away them silves both with wif and goods, bring both man

<sup>1</sup> The apparent contradiction between this sentence and the last is noted by More

wife and children to ydelnesse theft and beggeri.

¶ Ye who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles ocean see full of evilles that this mischevous and sinful generacion may lauffully bring uppon us unponissed, where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignitie, become that shuld punisse (by punishment of deth even as other men are punished) the felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons committed by this sinfull generacion? where is their obedience become that shulde be under your hyghe power yn this mater? ys not all to gither translated and exempt from your grace unto them? yes truely. whate an infinite nombre of people might have ben increased to have peopled the realme if these sort of folke had ben married like other men. what breche of matrimonie is there brought yn by them? suche truely as was never sins the worlde began among the hole multitude of the hethen.

¶ who is she that wil set her hondes to get .iii.d. a day and may have at lest .xx.d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day and may have at lest .xii.d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sort are there of theime that mari prestes

sovereigne ladies but to cloke the prestes yn-continency and that they may have a living of the prest theime silves for their labour? Howe many thousandes doth suche lubricite bring to beggery theft and idelnesse which shuld have kept their good name and have set them silves to worke had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie?? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his service that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man? Oh the grevous shipwrake of the comen welth, whiche yn auncient time bifore the coming yn of these ravinous wolves was so prosperous: that then there were but fewe theves: ye theft was at that tyme so rare that Cesar was not compellid to make penalte of deth uppon felony as your grace may well perceyve yn his institutes. There was also at that tyme but fewe pore people and yet they did not begge but there was given them ynough unaxed, for there was at that time none of these ravinous wolves to axe it from them as it apperith yn the actes of th appostles.<sup>1</sup> Is it any merveill though there

<sup>1</sup> The reference, seemingly, is to Acts iv. 32-35. But the fact that there was not then any that lacked is attributed in Acts iv. to the communism of these early Christians, which communism was in Fish's time, after all, practised by monks and by monks alone. The monks



be nowe so many beggers, theves, and ydell people? Nay truely.

¶ whate remedy : make lawes ageynst them. I am yn doubt whether ye be able : Are they not stronger in your owne parliament house then your silfe? whate a nombre of Bisshopes, abbotes, and priours are lordes of your parliament? are not all the lerned men in your realme in fee with them to speake yn your parliament house for them ageinst your crowne, dignitie, and comen welth of your realme a fewe of youre owne lerned counsell onely excepted? whate lawe can be made ageinst them that may be advaylable? who is he (though he be greved never so sore) for the murdre of his auncestre ravishment of his wyfe, of his doughter, robbery, trespas, maiheme,<sup>1</sup> dette, or eny other offence dare ley it theyre charge by any wey of accion, and if he do then is he by and by by theyre wilynesse accused of heresie. ye they will so handle him or he passe that except he will bere a fagot for theyre pleasure he shal be excommunicate and then be all his accions dashed. So captive are your lawes unto theym that no man that were still the great relievers of the poor ; though the *Friars* had lost their early fervour and become for the most part mere religious tramps.

<sup>1</sup> Maiming.

they lyst to excommunicat may be admitted to sue any accion in any of your courtes. If eny man yn your sessions dare be so hardy to endyte a prest of eny suche cryme he hath or the yere go out suche a yoke of heresyey leyd in his necke that it maketh him wisse that he had not done it. Your grace may se whate a worke there is in London, howe the bisshope rageth for endyting of certayn curates of extorcion and incontynency the last yere in the warmoll quest.<sup>1</sup> Had not Richard hunne<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The warmoll, or warnmall quest was held in the city once a year to redress vice. Quest = Inquest.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor of the City, refused to give a mortuary for an infant child that had died in the parish of St Mary Malfellow, whereupon the priest of the parish cited Hunne in the spiritual court of London. Hunne took the bold step of issuing a writ of praemunire against the priest on the ground that the spiritual court was under the foreign jurisdiction of the legate. The clergy were furious; and, as the best way of crushing Hunne, they apprehended him on a charge of heresy. He submitted as to the heresy, and offered to do penance; but he would not drop his action against the parson. Whereupon he was remanded to the Lollard's Tower, and two days afterwards was found there, hanged in his own silken girdle. The case created much excitement. At the inquest a verdict of wilful murder was returned against Horsey, the Chancellor of the Bishop of London. The Bishop appealed to Wolsey, and though the proceedings could not be stopped, he got Horsey off, as Fish complains further on, with a payment of £600. The miserable church-officials proceeded with the charge of heresy against the dead body of Hunne, and it was dug up and burned two weeks after his death.

commenced accyon of premunire ageinst a prest he had bin yet a lyve and none heretik at all but an honest man.

¶ Dyd not dyvers of your noble progenitours seyng theyre crowne and dignite runne ynto ruyne and to be thus craftely translated ynto the hondes of this myschevous generacyon whiche the statute of mortmayne<sup>1</sup> was one? to the intent that after that tyme they shulde have no more gyven unto them. But whate awayled it? have they not gotten ynto theyre hondes more londes sins then eny duke in ynglond hath, the statute notwithstanding? Ye have they not for all that translated ynto theyre hondes from your grace half your kyngdome thoroughly? The hole name as reason is for the auncientie of your kingdome whiche was bifore theyrs and out of the whiche theyrs is growen onely abiding with your grace? and of one kyngdome made tweyne: the spirituall kingdome (as they call it) for they wyll be named first, And your temporall kingdome,

<sup>1</sup> The Statute of Mortmain (1279) was enacted to prevent any more lands passing into the hands of the Church, except by special licence of the king. Church-lands owed no military service to the king; while the overlord lost all chance of recovering such lands by escheat, since there could be no failure of heirs in a corporation. *Magna Carta* had already forbidden lands to be given to religious houses—in spite of the ‘rightuous’ King John.

And whiche of these, ii. kingdomes suppose ye is like to overgrowe the other, ye to put the other clere out of memory? Truely the kingdome of the bloudsuffers for to theym is given daily out of your kingdome. And that that is ones gyven them comith never from them agein. Suche lawes have they that none of them may nether gyve nor sell nothing.

whate lawe can be made so stronge ageinst them that they other with money or elles with other policy will not breake and set at nought? whate kingdome can endure that ever gyvith thus from him and receyveth nothing agein? O howe all the substaunce of your Realme forthwith your swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, rynneth hedlong ynto the insaciabill whyrlepole of these gredi goulafres<sup>1</sup> to be swallowed and devoured.

¶ Nether have they eny other coloure to gather these yerely exaccions ynto theyre hondes but that they sey they pray for us to God to delyver our soules out of the paynes of purgatori without whose prayer they sey or at lest without the popes pardon we coude never be delivered thens whiche if it be true then is it good reason that we gyve them all these thinges all were it C. times as moche, But

<sup>1</sup> Gulphs, from O. Fr., Goulfre.

there be many men of greate litterature and iudgement that for the love they have unto the trouth and unto the comen welth have not feared to put them silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abiection of all the world, ye in perill of deth to declare theyre oppinion in this mather whiche is that there is no purgatory but that it is a thing invented by the covitousnesse of the spiritualltie onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes unto them and that there is not one word spoken of hit in al holy scripture. They sey also that if there were a purgatory, And also if that the pope with his pardons for money may deliver one soule thens: he may deliver him aswel without money, if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand: yf he may deliver a thousand he may deliver them all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite if he kepe them there in pryson and in paine till men will give him money.

Lyke wyse saie they of all the hole sort of the spiritualltie that if they will not pray for no man but for them that gyve them money they are tyrauntes and lakke charite, and suffer those soules to be punisshed and payned uncheritably for lacke of theyre prayers. These sort of folkes they call heretikes, these they

burne, these they rage ageinst, put to open shame and make them bere fagottes. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wote that this purgatory and the Popes pardons is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gave more to the temporall kingdome, he hym silfe paid tribute to Cesar he toke nothing from hym but taught that the highe powers shulde be always obeid ye he him silf (although he were most fre lorde of all and innocent) was obedient unto the highe powers unto deth. This is the great scabbe why they will not let the newe testament go a brode yn your moder tong lest men espie that they by theyre cloked ypochrisi do translate thus fast your kingdome into theyre hondes, that they are not obedient unto your highe power, that they are cruell, unclene, unmerciful, and ypochrites, that thei seke not the honour of Christ but their owne, that remission of sinnes are not given by the popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure feith and trust that we have in him. Here may your grace well perceyve that except ye suffer theyre ypocrisie to be disclosed all is like to runne ynto their hondes and as long as it is covered so long shall it seme to every

man to be a greate and ympiete not to gyve them. For this I am sure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good as my father, whye may I not aswell gyve them as moche as my father did. And of this mynd I am sure are all the loordes knightes squirs gentlemen and yemen in englond, ye and untill it be disclosed all your peole<sup>1</sup> will thinke that your statute of mortmayne was never made with no good conscience seing that it taketh away the liberte of your people in that they may not as lawfully by<sup>2</sup> their soules out of purgatory by gyving to the spiritualte as their predecessours did in tymes passed.

¶ Wherfore if ye will eschewe the ruyne of your crowne and dignitie let their ypocrisye be uttered and that shalbe more spedfull in this mater then all the lawes that may be made be they never so stronge. For to make a lawe for to punisse eny offender except it were more fit to give other men an ensample to beware to committe suche like offence, whate shuld yt avayle. Did not doctour Alyn<sup>3</sup> most pre-

<sup>1</sup> People.

<sup>2</sup> Buy.

<sup>3</sup> Wolsey's Chaplain. 'By the said power Legantine, he [Wolsey] kept also general visitations through the Realme, sending Doct. John Allein, his Chaplein, riding in his gown of Velvet, and with a great traine to visite all religious houses.' (Foxe, p. 260, 3rd ed.)

sumptuously nowe yn your tyme ageynst all this allegiaunce all that ever he coude to pull from you the knowledge of suche plees as long<sup>1</sup> unto your hyghe courtes unto an other court in derogacion of your crowne and dignite? Did not also doctor Horsey<sup>2</sup> and his complices most heynously as all the world knoweth murdre in pryson that honest marchaunt Richard hunne? For that he sued your writ of premunere against a prest that wrongfully held him in ple<sup>3</sup> in a spirituall court for a mater wherof the knowlege belonged unto your hyghe courtes. And whate punissement was there done that eny man may take example of to be ware of lyke offence? Truely none but that the one payd five hundreth poundes (as it is said to the bildinge of your sterre chamber) and when that payment was ones passed the capteyns of his kingdome (because he faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignitie) have heped to him benefice upon benefice so that he is rewarded tenne tymes as moche. The other as it is seid payde sixe hundreth poundes for him and his complices whiche forbicause that he had lyke

<sup>1</sup> Belong.

<sup>2</sup> The Chancellor of the Bishop of London. See for the Hunne affair, note on p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Plea.



wyse faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite was ymmediatly (as he had opteyned your most gracyous pardon) promoted by the capiteynes of his kingdome with benefice upon benefice to the value of .iiii. tymes as moche. who can take example of this punisshement to be ware of suche like offence? who is he of theyre kingdome that will not rather take courage to committe lyke offence seying the promocions that fill<sup>1</sup> to this<sup>2</sup> men for theyre so offending. So weke and blunt is your swerde to strike at one of the offenders of this croked and pervers generacyon.

¶ And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of youre lawe ye the chief of your counsell and he whiche hath youre swerde in his hond to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient is always a spirituell man whiche hath ever suche an inordinate love unto his owne kingdome that he will mainteyn that, though all the temporall kingdoms and comonwelth of the worlde shulde therefore utterly be undone, Here leve we out the gretest mater of all lest that we declaring suche an horrible carayn of evyll ageinst the ministres of iniquite shulde seme to declare the one onely faute or rather the ignoraunce of oure

<sup>1</sup> fell.

<sup>2</sup> these.

best beloved minstre of rightousnesse whiche is to be hid till he may be lerned by these small enormitees that we have spoken of to knowe it pleyndly him silf. But whate remedy to releve us your poore sike lame and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truly. The mos the worse, for ever the fatte of the hole foundation hangeth on the prestes berdes. Dyvers of your noble predecessours kinges of this realme have gyven londes to monasteries to give a certein somme of money yerely to the poore people wherof for the aunciente of the tyme they give never one peny, They have lyke wyse given to them to have a certeyn masses said daily for them wherof they sey never one. If the Abbot of westminster shulde sing every day as many masses for his founders as he is bounde to do by his foundation. M. monkes were to fewe. wherfore if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that never shall faile to releve us all your poore bedemen, so take from them all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world to get them wives of their owne, to get their living with their laboure in the swete of their faces according to the commaundement of god. Gene. iii. to gyve other idell people by their example occasion to go

to labour. Tye these holy idell theves to the cartes to be whipped naked about every market towne til they will fall to labour that they by theyre importunate begging take not away the almesse that the good christen people wolde give unto us sore impotent miserable people your bedemen. Then shall aswell the nombre of oure forsaid monstrous sort as of the baudes, hores, theves, and idell people decease. Then shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be moche better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be encreased, Then shall your comons encrease in richnesse. Then shall the gossell be preached. Then shall none begge oure almesse from us. Then shal we have ynough and more then shall suffice us, whiche shall be the best hospitall that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to god for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine salvum fac regem.

### III

## JOHN KNOX

[This short extract is the concluding passage of one of the six tracts published by Knox in 1558.

Knox, whose general views on the subject are amusingly dealt with in R. L. Stevenson's well-known essay, was led to write this pamphlet against feminine rule, by the difficulties of the time. The fate of Protestantism seemed to lie in the hands of five women ; Catherine de Medici, Queen of France ; Marie of Guise, Queen Regent of Scotland ; her daughter Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots ; Mary Queen of England, and the Princess Elizabeth. Of these, all were strong opponents of Protestantism, except the last, who was in confinement at the time and of little account. As it happened, before the year was out, the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth made Knox's argument singularly unfortunate. It had at least proved Knox's courage ; and fierce and unlovely as his character was, it was truly said of him, that he never feared the face of man. An answer, to which reference will be found on p. 119, was written by Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, in 1559, that is, after Elizabeth's accession.]

*From*

*'THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET  
AGAINST THE MONSTROUS  
REGIMENT OF WOMEN.'* 1558.

CURSED Jesabel of England, with the pestilent and detestable generation of papistes, make no litle bragge and boast, that they have triumphed not only against Wyet, but also against all such as have entreprised any thing against them or their procedinges. But let her and them consider, that yet they have not prevailed against god, his throne is more high, than the length of their hornes be able to reache. And let them further consider, that in the beginning of their bloodie reigne, the harvest of their iniquitie was not comen to full maturitie and ripenes. No, it was so grene, so secret I meane, so covered, and so hid with hypocrisie that some men (even the servantes of God) thoght it not impossible, but that wolves might be changed in to lambes, and also that the vipere might remove her naturel venom. But God, who doth revele in his time apointed the secretes of hartes, and that will have his iudgementes iustified even by the verie wicked, hath now geven open testimonie of her and their beastlie crueltie. For man

and woman, learned and unlearned, nobles and men of baser sorte, aged fathers and tendre damiselles, and finailie the bones of the dead, aswell women as men have tasted of their tyrannie, so that now not onlie the blood of father Latimer, of the milde man of God the bishop of Cantorburie, of learned and discrete Ridley, of innocent ladie Jane dudley, and many godlie and worthie preachers, that can not be forgotten, such as fier hath consumed, and the sworde of tyrannie moste unjvstlie hath shed, doth call for vengeance in the eares of the Lord God of hostes : but also the sobbes and teares of the poore oppressed, the groninges of the angeles, the watch men of the Lord, yea and everie earthlie creature abused by their tyrannie do continuallie crie and call for the hastie execution of the same.<sup>1</sup> I feare not to say, that the day of vengeance, whiche shall apprehend that horrible monstre Jesabel of England, and suche as maintein her monstrous crueltie, is alredie apointed in the counsel of the Eternall ; and I verelie beleve that it is so nigh, that she shall not reigne so

<sup>1</sup> Yet Knox himself advised the Scottish Parliament of 1560 to make a third offence in celebrating Mass punishable by death.

<sup>2</sup> By Nov. 17 of the year when this was written Mary Tudor was dead, and with her the system of which she had been the centre.

long in tyrannie,<sup>2</sup> as hitherto she hath done, when God shall declare him selfe to be her ennemie, when he shall poure furth contempt upon her, according to her crueltie, and shal kindle the hartes of such, as somtimes did favor her with deadly hatred against her, that they may execute his iudgementes. And therefore let such as assist her, take hede what they do. For assuredlie her empire and reigne is a wall without foundation: I meane the same of the authoritie of all women. It hath bene underpropped this blind time that is past, with the foolishnes of people, and with the wicked lawes of ignorant and tyrannous princes. But the fier of Goddes worde is alredie laide to those rotten proppes (I include the Popes lawe with the rest) and presentlie they burn, albeit we espie not the flame: when they are consumed, (as shortlie they will be, for stuble and drie timbre can not long indure the fier) that rotten wall, the usurped and uniust empire of women, shall fall by it self in despit of all men, to the destruction of so manie, as shall labor to uphold it. And therefore let all man be advertised, for the trumpet hath ones blowen.

## IV

### THOMAS CARTWRIGHT

[Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603), became intimate at Geneva with Beza, the uncompromising successor of Calvin. In 1570 he returned to England, and was elected Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and Fellow of Trinity. His lectures there brought him under suspicion of heresy, and he persuaded all the fellows and scholars of his college to refuse to wear the surplice. On his refusing to retract he was, in 1570, deprived of his professorship by Whitgift, then Vice-Chancellor of the University and Master of Trinity. He did not, however, at once separate from the Church, there being yet hope that the English Church might give up Catholicism for Calvinism. In the Parliament of 1571 a definite attempt was made to effect this by a proposal to substitute a Protestant confession of faith for the Thirty-nine Articles and to omit the office for the consecration of bishops. The Parliament defeated this, and passed instead a statute making subscription to the Articles obligatory, whereupon some hundred clergymen were deprived for refusing to subscribe. In 1572 two bills were again brought in by Wentworth for Calvinising the Church ; but the Queen interfered, and refused to allow any bill respecting religion to be received till it had been approved by Convoca-



tion. This called forth 'An Admonition to Parliament, 1572,' in the same year.

It was drawn up by Field, a minister, assisted by Wilcox, and was revised by some others. It attacked episcopacy with much severity, offered a scheme for a Presbyterian Church, and petitioned Parliament for a discipline more consonant with the Word of God and the reformed Churches. On October 12th, the authors were committed to Newgate, but the Admonition was allowed to be printed.

The imprisonment of Field and Wilcox caused Cartwright to write his *Second Admonition*, from which the following extracts are taken. Cartwright also wrote, 'An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their Brethren,' and another, 'Exhortation to the Bishops to answer the Admonition.' The Bishops appointed Whitgift to reply with 'An Answere to a certain Libel entitled an Admonition to the Parliament,' which was revised before publication by Archbishop Parker and others. Cartwright in 1573 retorted with 'A Replie to an Answere made by Dr Whitgifte againste the Admonition to the Parliament.' Whitgift then published 'The Defence of the Answere to the Admonition against the Replie of T. C., 1574.' Next year appeared 'The Second Replie,' and in 1577 'The Rest of the Second Replie of Thomas Cartwright agaynst Master Doctor Vuhitgifts Second Ansvuer touching the Church Discipline,' which ended the controversy.

In spite of Marprelate's exultation (p. 118) at Cartwright's having the last word, we find Whitaker, a very competent and impartial judge, speaking contemptuously of Cartwright's share in the controversy. In opinions there was little difference between the two disputants: Whitgift (p. 127)

asserted that Christ had left the external polity of the Church entirely an open question ; and in fact his real difference with Cartwright was that he was more latitudinarian.

Cartwright was by far the most learned and respected of the Puritan divines, he enjoyed too the protection of Leicester. He was imprisoned in 1584 and 1590, but was treated indulgently, and ended his days at Warwick, where, according to Harrington, he grew rich, and was honoured by his party as a patriarch. Cartwright was in many ways the real Father of Puritanism ; his Book of Discipline (1580) was to the Puritans very much what the Prayer Book was to Churchmen. Of the two main extracts which we give, the first is an early specimen of those criticisms of the Prayer Book which were continued in such profusion throughout the next century. Curiously wooden as most of Cartwright's objections must appear to modern readers, he at least had the insight to recognise that the Church services were Catholic in their whole nature, a fact to which custom blinded many succeeding generations of Churchmen. Of the whole Vestiarian controversy, Aubrey Moore says that from the first the real question it concealed was, 'Is the English Church to retain a real episcopacy, and defend its continuity with the Church of St Augustine, or is it to become a Presbyterian sect ?' Of our concluding extract it is important to observe that it marks a new phase. With Cartwright, Puritanism has become consciously Presbyterian. The year 1573 saw the first Presbytery in England.]

*Note.*—The notes in italics are Cartwright's own marginal headings and scriptural references.

*From*  
A SECOND ADMONITION TO THE  
PARLIAMENT

Now to the matter, I say, that we are so scarce come to the outward face of a Church rightly reformed, that although some truth bee taught by some Preachers, yet no Preacher may without great danger of the lawes, utter all truth comprised in the booke of God. It is so circumscribed and wrapt within the compasse of such Statutes, such Penalties, such Iniunctions, such Advertisements,<sup>1</sup> such Articles, such Canons, such sober Caveats, and such manifold Pamphlets, that in manner it doth but peepe out from behind the screen. The lawes of the Land, the booke of Common-prayer, the Queens Iniunctions, the Commissioners Advertisements, the Bishops late Canons, *Lindwoods* Provincials, every Bishops Articles in his Diocesse, my Lord of Canturburies sober Caveats, in his Licences to Preachers, and his high Court of Prerogative, or grave fatherly faculties, these together, or the worst of them (as some of them be too bad) may not be broken or offended against, but with more danger then to offend against the Bible. To these subscribing and subscribing again, and

<sup>1</sup> The *Advertisements* was the name of an important book of discipline issued by Archbishop Parker in 1566.

the third subscribing, are required: for these, Preachers, and others, are endited, are fined, are prisoned, are excommunicated, are banished, and have worse things threatened them: And the Bible that must have no further scope, then by these it is assigned. Is this to professe Gods word? is this a reformation? He that could not abide strange fire in the old Law, but burnt them that used it, what will he do to us in the new Law, that erect a new and strange Course, or Word, to rule his Church by?<sup>1</sup> What did the Pope but so? he did suffer Gods Word to have a course as farre as it pleased him, so that he might have the whole authority above it; so did the Popish Church: But we say the Word is above the Church,<sup>2</sup> then surely it is above the English Church, and above all these bookes afore rehearsed. If it be so, why are they not over-ruled by it, and not it by them?

As for the Convocation house, I told you before what it was, and what may be looked for at their hands, and somewhat more shall be said of it hereafter. If that were said for the Bible, which is said for the book of Common praier, and which God saith in his law for<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 *Lev.* x. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Eph.* ii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Deut.* iv. 2.

his word, then were the dealing upright and good. Now if they meane, by [not repugnant] that it is consonant in all and every the contents thereof with the word of God, that can they never prove. But could they prove that, yet they snare the Church of God between that book and other books, which they obtrude with straight charge to be observed; which books do differ among themselves: as the book of Common Praier, and the Iniunctions about wafers: the booke of Common prayer and the advertisements about the Church vestures: the Canons against the pontifical, in not ordering of Ministers *sine titulo*, the Preface of the last book of Homilies, and of the last new Bible, against the book of Common Praier in the maner of reading of the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> And in many things the Bishops articles in their severall Diocesses differ from this book, as about the standing of the Communion table, and fetching the dead to Church, and such like: but the Court of faculties, that for marrying without asking the banes, and many moe things differeth from it and all other their books, but chiefly from Gods Bible. What say we to this case? we are neither free to follow the Bible, nor out of doubt what to do

<sup>1</sup> *Thus shall they be perplexed, that follow mens heads.*

by these books: but to follow God and his Word we are so free, that we are by the Apostle forbidden to become servants<sup>1</sup> of men. If this be true, as who can deny it? then is it your part to rid our Church of these shrewd encumbrances. And whereas it was meant to bridle Papists, make direct lawes against them.<sup>2</sup>

Further, whereas our Church yet misseth of the right course of the Scriptures in our reformation, let your learned men be driven to draw a platforme out of Gods booke (where it is described at full) according to his will in the same revealed, and the examples of the best Churches beyond the Seas, as *Geneva, France, etc.*

Shall I examine their other orders, that were definite? but yet for the booke of Common-prayer,<sup>3</sup> which of all other must not be touched, because they have gotten the State so to beare it out: Even for the very States sake, for the Princes sake, for the Churches sake, and for conscience sake, hee hath but a bad conscience that in this time will hold his peace, and not speake it for feare of trouble, knowing that

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Direct lawes against Papists.*

<sup>3</sup> *Book of common praier.*

there are such intollerable abuses in it, as it is plaine there are.

First I say, that if it were praying, and that there were never an ill word, nor sentence in all the prayers,<sup>1</sup> yet to appoint it to be used, or so to use it as Papists did their mattens and even-song, for a set service to God, though the words bee good, the use is naught. The words of the first chapter after Saint *John* be good, but to be put in a Tablet of gold, for a soveraigne thing to be worne, that use is superstitious and naught, and so is the use of this service: for the order must be kept, and that being done, they have served God. And if they alledge that that use was not meant, and that it is an abuse, I say and can prove it, that if it be an abuse, it is so settled it will not be reformed, till there be a reformation of prayer. Againe, where learned they to multiply up many prayers of one effect, so many times, *Glory be to the Father*, so many times, *The Lord be with you*, so many times, *Let us pray*. Whence learned they all those needlesse repetitions? Is it not the Popish *Gloria Patri*<sup>2</sup>; their *Dominus vobiscum*<sup>3</sup>? Their *Oremus*<sup>4</sup>? *Lord have mercy upon us*, *Christ have mercy*

<sup>1</sup> *An intollerable abuse of praise.*

<sup>2</sup> *Gloria patri.*      <sup>3</sup> *Dominus vobiscum.*      <sup>4</sup> *Oremus.*

*upon.* is it not *Kyrie eleeson,*<sup>1</sup> *Christe eleeson :* their many *Pater nosters,*<sup>2</sup> why use they them? but as though they were at their beads. The words be good, so were they when they were in Latine, but the use is naught: forbidden by our Saviour: *You when you pray use not vaine repetitions as the Heathen do,* saith hee. And then the Collect for the day to be used at end of Mattens, what shall I call it? And afore the Epistle and Gospell,<sup>3</sup> as they call it. The book is such a peece of worke as it is strange wee will use it; besides I cannot account it praying, as they use it commonly, but onely reading or saying of prayers,<sup>4</sup> even as a childe that learneth to reade, if his lesson be a prayer, he readeth a prayer, he doth not pray, even so is it commonly a saying, and reading prayers and not praying, the childe putteth off his cap as well as the Minister. For though they have many guises, now to kneele, and now to stand, these be of course, and not of any pricke of conscience, or peircing of the heart most commonly. One hee kneeleth on his knees, and this way he looketh, and that way hee looketh, another hee kneeleth

<sup>1</sup> *Kyrie eleeson.*

<sup>2</sup> *Many Pater nosters.*

<sup>3</sup> *Matt. vi. 7.*

<sup>4</sup> *Reading praiers no praying. In praying many guises taken up, and used, rather of custome, then of reason, and knowledge or conscience.*



himselfe asleepe, another kneeleth with such devotion, that hee is so farre in talke, that he forgetteth to arise till his knees ake, or his talke endeth, or service is done. And why is all this? but that there is no such praying as should touch the heart. And therefore another hath so little feeling of the common prayer, that he bringeth a booke of his owne, and though he sit, when they sit, stand when they stand, kneele when they kneele, he may pause sometime also, but most of all he intendeth his own booke, is this praying? God grant us to feele our lackes better then this, and to take a better order then this for prayer, it is and will be all naught else, Againe the Psalmes be all read in forme of prayer,<sup>1</sup> they be not all prayers, the people seldome marke them, and sometime when they marke them, they thinke some of them strange geare, and all for that they are but onely read, and scarce read oftentimes. It is a very simple shift that you use to shift it with a homily, to expound darke places of Scripture, for they be darkly expounded that be expounded, and many places more darke then you rehearse any, which are not once touched. Simple and homely geare in divers Homilies there is. There is none other helpe

<sup>1</sup> *Reading of Psalmes.*

I can tell you, but plaine Preaching which is Gods plaine order. What reason to sing the Chapters of Scriptures,<sup>1</sup> and yet so they may in a plaine tune. Are all the prayers that are used, agreeable to the Scriptures? To let passe the *Benedictus*,<sup>2</sup> where I would know how I might say in my prayer: *For thou childe shall be called the Prophet of the highest?* And the *Magnificat*,<sup>3</sup> where I would know how any man, yea, or woman either, might say the tenure of these very words: *For hee hath regarded the low degree of his handmaid, for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed?* marke this well, and you can never answer it well, but that it is a palpable folly, and vaine praying. To let these passe, I would know in what Canonickall Scripture they find this prayer: *O all yee workes of the Lord?* and what they meane when they say, *O Ananias, Azarias,<sup>4</sup> and Misael, praise the Lord?* which part of prayer is not according to the Scripture, if all the rest be, but the whole thankes giving is Apocriphall, and yet these men that are named, were then alive, and said it themselves, if it were truely their prayer, and it belongeth not to us to speake to them now, that are dead,

<sup>1</sup> *Singing of chapters.*

<sup>2</sup> *Benedictus.*

<sup>3</sup> *Magnificat.*

<sup>4</sup> *O Ananias, Azarias.*

and why to them more then to the *Virgin Mary, Peter or Paul, etc.*<sup>1</sup> *Let him that speaketh, speake as the word of God,* saith the Apostle.<sup>2</sup> With what truth can we say that one Collect which is appointed to be said from the Nativity to New-yeares day? which is, that upon the Nativity day I must say, *That Christ vouchsafed this day to bee borne,* and when I reade it another day, I must say, *Hee vouchsafed this day to bee borne,* and the next day againe, *This day.* Surely I lie one of the daies, and such a prayer is at Whitsuntide appointed. I would know whereupon they ground their Collect appointed for the service of *S. Bartholomew*<sup>3</sup> (for we have Saints and Angels, and All-hallowes service, which the first Treastises speake of) I would I say know whereon they ground that Collect? wherein they pray that they may follow *Bartholomews* Sermons, seeing there is never a Sermon of his extant, and so we shall follow we wot not what? or that they pray that the Church may Preach as he did, when as they neither have his Sermons, nor yet the whole Church may Preach, but the Ministers of the Church onely.

<sup>1</sup> 1 *Pet.* iv. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Collects at the feast of the Nativity, and Whitsuntide.*

<sup>3</sup> *A collect on Bartholomew day.*

Is this praying? God forgive us it is a wicked pratling. By what Scriptures have they Lent service:<sup>1</sup> Ashwednesday service? Three Collects for that day? There is also<sup>2</sup> a Commination<sup>3</sup> grounded upon great reason, if that be well marked, which the Priest (forsooth) must say at the entrance into the matter, that is: what a peece of discipline was in former times kept about the holy time of Lent, which untill it be restored, would be supplied with this Jewish order. But what place of Scripture doth induce them to reduce this ceremony? or what place of Scripture would warrant such a peece of Discipline, as there they seeme very desirous to have restored? as who should say such devices of observances for daies and times were profitable or sufferable in Christs Church.<sup>4</sup> Let them endeavour to commend God his Discipline, which should be all the daies and times of our life exercised in Christs Church; let them require that, I would know what there is in *Athanasius Creed*,<sup>5</sup> that that must be upon high daies (as they terme them) rather then the Apostles Creed? I would know why *Venite*<sup>6</sup> may not serve at Easter, as it must

<sup>1</sup> *Service for Lent, Ash Wednesday, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Deut.* xxvii. 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *A Commination.*

<sup>4</sup> *Gal.* iv. 9, 10, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Athanasius Creed.*

<sup>6</sup> *Venite.*

all the yeare afore, and after follow *Dominie labia*? it is surely a strange thing to see the fansies that this booke is full of. I overpasse the dry Communion (as they call it), the Epistle, the Gospell, the Offertory, and because they have in the former Treatises touched many things of the Sacraments, of Matrimonie, of Confirmation, and so of the rest, I the more willingly skip over many things else, saying shortly that the Sacraments are wickedly mangled and prophaned. But as for Confirmation,<sup>1</sup> as it hath no ground out of the Scriptures at all, so I would have their prayer marked, how they reckon up the sevenfold graces as the Papists did, neither more nor lesse, where they have one grace more then the ii. of *Esay* hath, which they allude unto. And againe, they have farre fewer then are mentioned in the rest of the Scriptures. Lord, to see these very folies, may not this book be altered neither in matter or manner? Surely, then have you a mannerly sort of Ministers<sup>2</sup> that straine curtesie to forbear to lie, and to forbear superstition, when they seeme to present themselves before the Lord, which can worse like such service then you can to forbear it.<sup>3</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> *Confirmation.*

<sup>2</sup> *A mannerly sort of Ministers.*

<sup>3</sup> *Jerem. vi. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.*

have thus much further examined the orders that these men use in prayer, beside the generall observation, that they allow prayer in publique place without a Sermon, which is rightly prohibited in Churches reformed. Would the word of God thus negligently, thus fantastically, prophanely and heathenishly be Preached? or the Sacraments bee so wickedly, without examination at the supper, or sincerity in Baptisme, bee so (I say) wickedly ministred? would prayers be made either that were so foolish, or so superstitious, or so false, or the best of them so undevoutely, if there were such right orders as were in the Churches planted by the Apostles, as is in the best reformed Churches, and ought to be in ours? What though these men be, and will be taken so learned, so right, that they need learne of none other, are not these their orders? do they not maintaine them? do they not persecute them that speake against them? and yet I pray you are they not starke naught? yea, and so are divers of them, not onely for their bribing and corruption, and their arrogancy, their tyranny, but for flat heresie in the Sacraments; and some be suspected of the heresie of *Pelagius*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Pelagians denied the hereditary transmission of the sin of Adam, and held that a man could be saved by his own natural strength.

For the first, that is concerning the Sacrament, the Bishops<sup>1</sup> are notoriously known which erre in it, and for free-will, one onely they are suspected, but others also. And indeed the booke of the Articles<sup>2</sup> of Christian Religion speaketh very dangerously of falling from grace, which is to be reformed, because it too much enclineth to their errour; other things there are maintained by some of them which are not agreeable with the Scripture; Namely, the false interpretation of this clause in our Creede (*Hee descended into hell*) which is expressly set down contrary to the Scriptures, in the Creed<sup>3</sup> made in Meeter in these words: *His spirit did after this descend into the lower parts, to them that long in darkenesse were the true light of their hearts.* If they can warrant this out of the Scriptures, then *Limbus Patrum*,<sup>4</sup> and within a while Purgatory will be found out there. And yet this must be priviledged, and divers such like matters, disagreeing with the Scriptures, as in the humble suite of a sinner<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bishops themselves, some of them in heresies, and some suspected.*

<sup>2</sup> *The booke of Articles of Christian Religion.*

<sup>3</sup> *The Creed in meeter.*

<sup>4</sup> The 'Bosom of Abraham,' where were kept the souls of the saints of the old dispensation. Christ is held to have descended to *Limbus*, and emptied it, after the Crucifixion.

<sup>5</sup> *The humble suite of a sinner.*

it is said, *That the Saints and Angels see Christs bloody wounds as yet*; and in their last great Bible<sup>1</sup> in the first Edition of it, such a sight of blasphemous pictures of God the Father, as what they deserve for it, I will referre them to none other iudge then their own note upon the 15 verse of the fourth of *Deuteronomie*, Wee hold I wot not what heresies that speake against their pride and traditions, but they that expresly speake and do against the Scriptures, hold nothing I trow but verities. But let these guides weigh the Scripture, which saith, you *straine a gnat and swallow down a Camel*.<sup>2</sup>

Well now, seeing we have thus far weighed, partly Gods orders for the ministers election, for their exercises, and for their equalitie, that it is better then our L. Bishops, for the continuing of sound religion, and that the order of Bishops is contrary to the Scriptures, and that they make and maintaine with cruelty against the Scriptures many wicked orders, let us now come to the other part, which is of the government of the Church, to see how that standeth by the Scriptures. I have already made mention of a Consistorie,<sup>3</sup> which were to be had in

<sup>1</sup> *The last great bible.* The Bishops' Bible, 1568.

<sup>2</sup> *Matt.* xxiii. 24.      <sup>3</sup> *Consistorie whereof it consisteth.*



every congregation. That consisteth first of the ministers<sup>1</sup> of the same congregation, as the guides and mouth of the rest, to direct them by the scriptures, and to speake at their appointment, that which shall be consented upon amongst them all, because of their giftes, and place amongst them, which maketh them more fit for those purposes. The assistants<sup>2</sup> are they, whom the parish shall consent upon and chuse, for their good iudgement in religion and godlinesse, which they know they be of, whereby they are meete for that office using the advise of their ministers therein cheefely,<sup>3</sup> and having an eye to a prescript forme drawn out of the Scriptures, at the appointment of the Prince and state, by the godly learned men of this realme, because of the rawnesse of this people yet, and also using earnest prayers, with fasting, as in the choise of the minister, and having made their choise thereafter, they shall publish their agreement in their parish, and after a sermon by their minister, at their appointment,<sup>4</sup> and uppon their consent the minister may lay his hands uppon every of them, to testifie to

<sup>1</sup> *The Ministers first in it.*

<sup>2</sup> *Who the Assistants must bee.*

<sup>3</sup> *How the Assistants must be chosen.*

<sup>4</sup> *Wherefore this Consistory serveth.*

them their admission. This consistorie is for that onely congregation, and must do that which they do iointly in any common cause of the Church. And these are to employ themselves and to be employed by that congregation, upon the necessary urgent affaires of the same Church. These are they in that Church to whom our Saviour commandeth them that have twice,<sup>1</sup> or oftner admonished an offender, and he heareth them not, to utter such an offender; when he saith, *Tel the Church*. These are they, whose last admonition he of that Church, or they which regard not, shall be taken as a publicane or heathen. These are they, that shall admonish all such in the Congregation, as they know to live with offence to the Church, or as be presented to them, by good testimonie of their offence committed. These be they, which shall excommunicate the stubborne, making the whole Church privie to their doings, and shall upon repentance, take order for the receiving such an one in again, making open profession of his or their repentance, to the satisfying of the Congregation. Yet ever so must they excommunicate, and receive the excommunicate in againe, that they require the assent of their whole congregation,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Matt.* xviii. 17.    <sup>2</sup> *Assent of their whole congregation.*

shewing the greivousnesse of his fact, and how they have proceeded with him by admonition, and his contempt, which they shall do, both because their upright dealing may appeare to the whole Church, and because they may not usurpe authoritie over the whole Church, whereby we might caste out the tyrannie of the Bishops, and bring in a new tyranie of theirs, who are appointed by good order, to have the examination of matters, and the rest of dealing, in the name of the whole congregation. Neverthelesse, what they do well, the congregation cannot alter, neither shall the Congregation put them, or any of them out, but upon iust cause proved, either in that consistorie or in some one of the counsels, and the cause accepted for sufficient, Neither may they, or any of them leave to deale in that turne, except they can shew good cause to that consistorie, and it to be approved by them, with the consent of the whole Congregation, and good liking. For neither must they lightly be brought into suspition, nor they must not lightly cast of so waighty a calling, and function of such importance, no more then the ministers may.<sup>1</sup> They also shall examine

<sup>1</sup> 1 *Tim.* v. 19.

all disordered ceremonies<sup>1</sup> used in place of prayer, and abolish those which they find evill, or unprofitable, and bring in such orders, as their congregation shall have need of, so they be few, and apparent, necessary both for edifying, and profite and decent order: proving it plainly to the whole Church that it is so.<sup>2</sup> And in like sort shall they suffer no lewd customes<sup>3</sup> to remaine in their parish, either in games, or otherwise, but having conferred of such things amongst themselves, then shall admonish him or them brotherly, that he or they, use them not any more, as unseeming to Christian men to use the like, or if they be common, they shall give open admonition, and it shall be left. In all these things, and in all things of the Church, they shall not meddle with the civil magistrates office,<sup>4</sup> nor with any other punishment but admonition, and excommunication of the obstinate. Yet this they must doe, that hee which hath lived with offence to that congregation although he hath suffred the punishment of the law for his offence against it, yet he shall by them be admonished, to satisfie the congregation to

<sup>1</sup> *Disordered ceremonies.*

<sup>2</sup> *Necessary orders.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lewd customes.*

<sup>4</sup> *They may not meddle with the civill Magistrates office.*

whom he hath given offence, and amongst whom he dwelleth. As for example: he that hath usurie<sup>1</sup> proved against him, so that he loose his principall for taking above ten in the hundred, yet shall he also for committing so hainous offence against God, and his Church, to the very ill example of others, not be allowed to the Sacraments, untill he shew himselfe repentant for the fault, and study to satisfie the Congregation so offended by him. These shall receive the information of the Deacons,<sup>2</sup> for the releefe of the poore, and their accounts for that which they shall lay out that way, and of their diligence in visiting them, that the congregations may by the Consistorie be certified of all things concerning the pore, both that there may be made provision accordingly and that the provision made, may be well husbanded, and the poore may by the Deacons be visited, comforted, and releved according to their lack. Lastly, one or more of these assistants, with one of the ministers, and a Deacon or Deacons shall be those, that shall at their Churches charges meete at the provinciall Council, or national, if there be

<sup>1</sup> *Usury.*

<sup>2</sup> *Information and accounts of the Deacons.*

any businesse that concerneth their Church.<sup>1</sup> Especially, one of the ministers shall not faile, and one of these assistance, to be parties in any generall cause of all the Churches that may be dealt in there, whether it be concerning doctrine, or manners. Now a word or two of Excommunication, and Deacons, because I have made mention of them, and then I will shew upon what scriptures these orders are grounded, and compare them with those which we use, and some certaine matters incident to these, and then draw to an end by Gods grace. Excommunication<sup>2</sup> may not be used, but after sundry brotherly and sharpe admonitions too, and great occasions, offences, and contempts shewed as the scripture is plaine. And in these cases they are by the persons, and order afore, not shut out of the Church doores,<sup>3</sup> but out of the Church of God, and communion and fellowship of the Saints, they are delivered to Satan, and to be esteemed, and to be no more taken for Christian men, till they repent, then Heathens or Turks are, save that, as they may be allowed, yea and procured if it may be, to come to heare

<sup>1</sup> *Who should repaire to the Counsels for the Churches affaires.*

<sup>2</sup> *Of Excommunication.*

<sup>3</sup> *Shutting out of the Church door.*

sermons, so also they may be conferred with by the brethren, to bring them to repentance. But they shall not be allowed to the sacrament, the pledge of Christ his league with his Church, until by repentance they may be admitted as afore is said, into the fellowship of the Church againe. Neither shall any brother, or sister, use his or their companie, but to admonish them, and exhort them to repentance, or as he or she may the heathens companie, for their necessarie affaires in the world, as they may have dealing together: or as a wife, which may not depart from her husband if he will abide with her,<sup>1</sup> and yet shee may be admitted to the fellowship of the congregation, if shee contemne not the doing of the Church,<sup>2</sup> but do her uttermost to call her husband home. In like case, if it were the wife that were excommunicated, he should be admitted, and not she. Shortly to say: Excommunication<sup>3</sup> is a fearefull thing as it is prescribed by the Scriptures, and used by the Churches of Christ reformed accordingly. No punishment to it in this

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. v. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *No punishment so grevous in this world as excommunication. Some sharp punishment must bee provided by the Civill Magistrate for such as contemne excommunication, but with lesse charge then a Significavit.*

world, but onely hell eternally: for he that is in it, either he hath his conscience seered with a hote iron, I meane it is brawned, and he hath no feeling, or else he cannot be without a hell in his conscience: for he is out of the fellowship of the Saints, he cannot claime to be of Christs Body, nor that his promises and mercy belong to him, if he seek not to be received by repentance into the Congregation of Christ againe, nor he may not have that comforable pledge of Christ his Supper in fruition with the Church, till his repentance be accepted by that Church. Neither may any other Church receive him till hee have satisfied that Church: but the Minister and Consistory of that Church whereto he newly repaireth, shall enquire from whence he came, and have testimony from thence, and not admit him no more then the other Church: or if otherwise, to answer it at some Conference, or Councell Provinciall or Nationall, And beside, the Civill Magistrate (the nurse and Foster-father of the Church) shall do well to provide some sharpe punishment for those that contemne this censure and discipline of the Church, for no doubt it is in the degree of blasphemie, of a Heathen our Saviour saith, that



renounceth God and Christ, and thus much of that.

A Deacon<sup>1</sup> is an officer of the Church for the behoofe of the poore, chosen to this office by the Congregation, by such meanes as afore is prescribed in the choice of Elders, by advice and consent, being a noted man for godly iudgement, and faithfulnessse, as it is plaine out of the Scriptures that such an one he should be. His office is to visite the poore indeed, to looke diligently what they lack, and how many they be, and what be their names, and to certifie the Consistory: or such a number in one parish they may be, that they shall need a generall contribution, and then the Deacon or Deacons with those of the Consistory afore named, may certifie the Councill Provinciall, that a provision may be levied for the sustentation of those poore, which provision shall be delivered into the Deacons hands, to be distributed and turned to the behoofe of that poore, and to give an account of that they distribute, and the rest in their hands to their owne Consistory, for that which is collected there; or they, and those of the Consistory as afore, to certefie it to the Councill provinciall, for the generall contribution, how it is truly

<sup>1</sup> *What a Deacon is. Acts vi. 3.*

employed. This office howsoever Papistry hath converted it or perverted it, is an office needfull, and commanded to the Church of God, used by the Jewes before the comming of Christ,<sup>1</sup> Christ himself using in his small company to have one to beare provision for the poore: the Apostles tooke it up in the Church of Jerusalem. The Apostle *Paul* not onely maketh mention of that office to the Romans, shewing thereby that it was there;<sup>2</sup> but he and *Timothy* saluteth them, writing to the Phillippians, shewing thereby that they were of great accompt. And writing to *Timothy*, he prescribeth their election what it should be, to direct not onely the choice of them, but to commend the use of them to the Church.<sup>3</sup> And therefore such there must be procured in this English Church, as at this day there is in Reformed Churches.

<sup>1</sup> *Luke* xxi. 4; *Joh.* xiii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts* vi. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Phil.* i. 1; 1 *Tim.* iii. 8.

## V

### THE MARPRELATE LIBELS

[The immediate causes which led to the Marprelate controversy were these:—Archbishop Whitgift, in 1583, met the attempt of Cartwright and Travers to establish their ‘Book of Discipline,’ by compelling subscription to three articles: (1) The Royal Supremacy, (2) The Book of Common Prayer, (3) The Articles of 1562. The Puritans now based their hopes on the Parliament of 1584, and with this end in view, *The Practice of Prelates* was published by Tyndal. It was the first of the series which reached its last term in the Marprelate libels, and was scarcely less coarse than they. The attempt of 1584 was a failure; and, when it was renewed in 1586, the House refused to allow the Bill to be introduced. From this time the flow of Puritan tracts, which had begun about 1570, increased both in number and violence; and, in 1587 Dr John Bridges wrote his *Defence* in answer to them. This led next year (1588) to the first of the Marprelate tracts the *Epistle*, which we here in part reproduce. The *Epitome* followed very shortly after; and in 1589 nearly all the other tracts were issued. Bishop Cooper’s *Admonition* came out early in that year, and the Queen’s Proclamation against certain seditious and schismatical books and libels is dated February 13, 1589 (N.S.).

*Theses Martinianae, or Martin Junior* is dated July 22nd ; the *Just Censure and Reproofe of Martin Senior*, July 29th. In August a press that Penry had set up in Manchester was seized, at the instigation of the Earl of Derby, while printing *More worke for Cooper*, but, nothing daunted, Penry continued his printing operations elsewhere.

The attack of the anti-Martinists began in the same month with '*A Countercuffe*, given to Martin Junior by the venturous, hardie and renowned Pasquill of England, Caviliero,' which is dated August 8th. Next followed *Pappe with an Hatchet*. *The Return of Pasquill* is dated October 20th, and close upon this *An Almond for a Parrat* appeared. In the winter a final squib was fired, '*Martins Months minde* that is, a certaine Report and true Description of Death and Funeralls of olde Martin Marre-prelate, the great Makebate of England and Father of the Factions, contayning the cause of his death, the manner of his buriall, and the right copies both of his will and such epitaphs,' etc.

On the Martinist side the *Protostatyon of Martin Marprelate* appeared in September, and the answer to Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, called *Hay any Worke for Cooper*, seems from internal evidence to have been published in the Winter of 1589. 'Ha' ye any work for John Cooper' was one of the cries of London at the time ; and Martin had recognised the good Bishop in the initials 'T. C.,' which had appeared on the *Admonition*. In January 29th, 1590 (N.S.), Penry's house was searched, but he was not arrested. Shortly afterwards, however, the mayor was directed to apprehend him as a traitor. He hid himself, and escaped to Scotland, having first issued his defiant '*Appellation of John Penri unto the Highe court of Parliament*.' In Scotland he preached openly ; and issued a 'Treatise' in

favour of reformation, the answer to which, *The First Parte of Pasquils Apologie*, brought the Marprelate controversy to an end in the same year 1590. Two years later, September 1592, the excitement having subsided, Penry had the rashness to leave Edinburgh for London, where he presented an address to the Queen, which began, 'Madam, you are not so much any adversary to us poor men, as unto Jesus Christ and the commonwealth of his Kingdom.' In March 1593, he was arrested, charged with inciting to rebellion and insurrection, on the evidence not of his printed works but of MS. notes found in his possession, and executed in May. He was born in 1559, and thus was twenty-nine when the *Epistle* was produced.

The authorship of the Martinist pamphlets is shrouded in some mystery. But it is at least certain that John Penry the Welshman was the prime mover in the matter, and the manager of the secret press. He was probably the original Martin, though the names of Barrow, John Udall, Job Throckmorton and Fenner have also been suggested; but Penry was not the only writer on that side, as might be gathered from *An Almond for a Parrat* quoted below. We may accept Mr Arber's conclusion ('*Introd. Sketch of the Marpr. Cont.*' 1880) that Penry was the principal writer, assisted by Throckmorton, a Puritan country gentleman, and with the use of some memoranda of John Udall, who himself disliked this method of controversy.

The *Epistle* was secretly printed by Penry and Waldegrave in Mistress Crane's country-house at East Moulesey, in Surrey, about Michaelmas 1588. Waldegrave was engaged to superintend the technical arrangements: Penry corrected the proofs, and paid the two compositors. About a fifth part of it is here reproduced as a fair specimen

of the whole. In fact, both in this and his other pamphlets, Martin harped pretty much on the same string.]

*MARTIN MARPRELATE'S 'EPISTLE.'*

OH READ OVER D. JOHN BRIDGES, FOR IT IS A WORTHY WORKE :<sup>1</sup>

OR AN EPITOME OF THE  
FYRSTE BOOKE OF THAT RIGHT WORSHIPFULL VO-  
lume, written against the Puritans, in the defence  
of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John  
Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor of Divillitie,  
and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments  
of the puritans are wisely prevented, that  
when they come to answeere M. Doctor,  
they must needes say something  
that hath beene spoken.

COMPILED FOR THE BEHOOFE AND OVERTHROW  
of the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt  
their Catechismes, and are past grace : By the  
reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate  
gentleman, and dedicated to the  
Confocationhouse.

THE EPITOME IS NOT YET PUBLISHED, BUT IT SHALL  
be when the Bishops are at convenient leysure to  
view the same. In the meantime, let them  
be content with this learned Epistle.

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 1-8. Dr John Bridges was Dean of Salisbury in 1587, when he wrote a large 4to of 1,401 pages called 'A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England,' etc. This is the book here sarcastically recommended. Bridges became Bishop of Oxford in 1603.

PRINTED OVERSEA, IN EUROPE, WITHIN TWO FURLONGS of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman.

To the

RIGHT PUISANTE, AND TERRIBLE PRIESTS,  
 my cleargie masters of the Confocation-house,  
 whether fickers generall, worshipfull Paltripolitane,  
 or any other of the holy league of subscription :  
 this worke I recommend unto them with all my heart, with  
 a desire to see them all so provided for one day,  
 as I would wish, which I promise them  
 shall not at all be to their hurt.

Right poysond, persecuting and terrible priests, the theame of mine Epistle, unto your venerable master-domes, is of two parts (and the Epitome of our brother Bridges his booke, shall come out speedily). First, most pitifully complayning, Martin Marprelate, &c. Secondly, may it please your good worships, &c.

Most pitifully complayning therefore, you are to understand, that D. Bridges hath written in your defence, a most senceless book, and I cannot very often at one breath come to a full point, when I read the same.

Againe, may it please you to give me leave to play the Duns for the nonce as well as he, otherwise dealing with master doctors booke, I cannot keepe *decorum personoe*. And may it please you, if I be too absurd in any place (either in this Epistle, or that Epitome) to ride

to Sarum, and thanke his Deanship for it. Because I could not deal with his book commendable according to order, unless I should be sometimes tediously dunsticall and absurd. For I have heard som cleargie men say, that M. Bridges was a verie patch and a duns, when he was in Cambridg. And some say, saving your reverence that are Bb.<sup>1</sup> that he is as very a knave, and enemy unto the sinceritie of religion, as any popish prelate in Rome. But the patche can doe the cause of sinceritie no hurt. Naye, he hath in this booke wonderfully graced the same by writing against it. For I have hard some say, that whosoever will read his booke, shall as evidently see the goodnes of the cause of reformation, and the poore poore, poore nakednes of your government, as almost in reading all master Cartwright's workes. This was a very great oversight in his grace of Cant.<sup>2</sup> to suffer such a booke to come out. For besides that an Archb. is very weakely defended by masse Deane, he hath also by this meanes provoked many to write against his gracious fatherhood, who perhaps never ment to take pen in hand. And brother Bridges, mark what Martin tels you, you will shortly I hope have twenty fistes

<sup>1</sup> Bishops.

<sup>2</sup> Canterbury: see p. 127, note.



about your eares more the your own. Take heed of writing against Puritanes while you live, yet they say that his grace woulde not have the booke to be published, and if you marke, you shall not find seene and allowed in the title of the booke. Well fare old mother experience yet, the burnt childe dreads the fire : his grace will cary to his grave I warrant you, the blowes which M. Cartwright gave him in this cause : and therefore no marvell though he was loth to have any other so banged as he himselfe was to his woe. Others say that John Cant. oversawe every prooffe. If he did, then he oversaw many a foule salecisme, many a senceles period, and far more slanders. Slanders my friends? I thinke so. For what will you say, if our brother Bridges, and our cosen Cosins, with manye others, have had their grace of the Bb. *ad practicandum* in Flanders? Howe could their government stand, unles they should slander their brethren, and make her Maiestie beleeve, that the Church gouernment prescribed in the worde, would overthrow her regiment, if it were received in our Church, and that the seekers of reformation, are a sort of Malcontents, and enemies unto the state.

Item may it please your worthy worshipp,

to receive this courteously to favour at my hand, without choller or laughing. For my L.<sup>1</sup> of Winchester is very chollericke and peevish, so are his betters at Lambeth, and D. Cosins hath a very good grace in iesting,<sup>2</sup> and I woulde he had a little more grace, and a handful or two more of learning, against he answer the Abstract next. Nay beleve me, it is inough for him to answeere the Counterpoyson.<sup>3</sup> And I am none of the malicious sectaries, whereof John of London<sup>4</sup> spake the last Lent, 1588, in his letters written to the Archdeacon of Essex, to forbid publike fastes. Ha, ha, D. Copcot are ye there, why do not you answeere the confutation of your sermon at Pauls crosse? It is a shame for your grace John of Cant. that Cartwrights<sup>5</sup> bookes have been now a

<sup>1</sup> Lord.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to the 'Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament of certain Injunctions,' &c., published in 1584, to which Dr Cosins replied by authority of Archbishop Whitgift the same year.

<sup>3</sup> Republished in *A Parte of a Register*.

<sup>4</sup> John Aylmer, Bishop of London.

<sup>5</sup> See Introd. note to Cartwright's *Admonition*. As a matter of fact Whitgift did reply to the *Admonition*, and, on Cartwright's writing a rejoinder, replied again, but when Cartwright produced a further *Replie* no one answered him. Hence the complaint. But a controversie had to end somewhere, even in the sixteenth century. This boast of victory was answered in *Almond for a Paratt* thus: 'Therefore first I would know of sweete M. sauce malapert whether he would have the care of the

dozen yeares almost unanswered: you first provoked him to write and you first have received the foyle. If you can answer those books, why do you suffer the Puritans to insult and reioyce at your silence. If you cannot, why are you an Archb. He hath proved the calling to be unlawfull and Antichristian. You dare not stand to the defence of it. Now most pitifully complayneth, M. Marprelate, desireth you either to aunswere what hathe beene written against the gracelesnes of your Archbishoprick, or to give over the same, and to be a meanes that no byshop in the land, be a Lord any more. I hope one day her Maiestie will either see that the L. Bb. prove their calling lawfull by the word, or as John of London prophesied saying, come downe you bishopps from your thousands, and content you with your hundreds, let your diet be pristlike and not princelik, &c., quoth John Elmar in his Harborow of faithful subiects.<sup>1</sup> But I

Commonwealth . . . resigned to the retorting of T. C. his unreverent railings.' The gravity and mildness of the one, it continues, could not stoop to the jangling levity of the other; and 'as there is nothing more unseemly then to aunswere the froward, so there is nothing more profitable then scilence to such as are provokt.' See also p. 85.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Aylmer's *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes against the late blowne Blaste concerninge the Government of Wemen* was a reply to John Knox's 'First

pray you B. John dissolve this one question to your brother Martin: if this prophesie of yours come to passe in your dayes, who shal be B. of London? And will you not sweare as commonly you do, like a lewd swag, and say, by my faith, by my faith my masters, this geare goeth hard with us. Nowe may it please your grace with y<sup>e</sup> rest of your worships, to procure that the Puritans may one day have a free disputation with you, about y<sup>e</sup> controversies of the Church, and if you be not set at a flat *non plus*, and quite over throwen, ile be a Lord B. my selfe: looke to your selves, I thinke you have not long to raigne. Amen. And take heed brethren of your reverend and learned brother, Martin Marprelate. For he meaneth in these reasons following I can tell you, to prove that you ought not to be maintained by the authoritie of the Magistrate, in any Christian commonwealth: Martin is a shrewd fellow, and reasoneth thus. Those that are pettie popes and pettie Antichrists, ought not to be maintained in anie Christian common-

Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,' *q.v.* Aylmer comes in for a good deal of abuse at Marprelate's hands, for he was an active member of the High Commission Court, and it was through him that Cartwright was imprisoned in 1584; but in theology he differed little from his victims, for the *Harborowe* is full of extreme Puritan opinions.

wealth. But everie Lord B. in England, as for ilsample, John of Cant., John of London, John Excetor, John Rochester, Thomas of Winchester. The B. of Lincolne, of Worcester, of Peterborow, and to be briefe, all the Bb. in England, Wales, and Ireland, are pettie popes, and pettie Antichristes.<sup>1</sup> Therefore no Lord B. (now I pray thee good Martin speake out, if ever thou diddest speake out, that hir Maiestie and the counsell may heare thee) is to be tollerated in any christian commonwelth: and therefore neither John of Cant. John of London, &c. are to be tollerated in any christian commonwealth. What say you now brother Bridges is it good writing against Puritanes. Can you denie any part of your learned brother Martin his syllogisme.<sup>2</sup> We denie your minor M. Marprelate say the Bb. and their associats. Yea my learned masters, are you good at that? what do you brethren? say me that againe? do you denie my minor? And that be all you can say, to denie L. Bb. to be pettie popes, turne me loose to the priests in y<sup>t</sup> point, for I am olde suersvie at the prooffe of such matters, ile

<sup>1</sup> *What malapert knaves are these that cannot be content to stand by and here, but they must teach a gentleman how to speake.*

<sup>2</sup> *Looke the doctors booke, page 107, line 20; and page 113, line 13.*

presently marre the fashion of their Lordships.

They are pettie popes, and pettie Antichrists, whosoever usurpe the authority of pastors over them, who by the ordinance of God, are to bee under no pastors. For none but Antichristian popes and popelings ever claimed this authoritie unto themselves, especiallie when it was gainsaid, and accounted Antichristian, generally by the most Churches in the world. But our L. bishops usurpe authoritie over those, who by the ordinance of God, are to be under no pastors, and that in such an age, as wherein this authoritie is gainsaid, and accounted Antichristian, generally by all the Churches in the world for y<sup>e</sup> most part. Therefore our L. Bb. what sayest thou man, our L. bishoppes, (I say) as John of Canterburie, Thomas of Winchester (I will spare John of London for this time, for it may be he is at boules,<sup>1</sup> and it is a pitie to trouble my good brother, lest he should swear too bad) my reverend prelate of Lichfelde,<sup>2</sup> with the rest of that swinishe rable, are pettie Antichrists, pettie popes, proud prelates, intollerable with-

<sup>1</sup> The game.

<sup>2</sup> *M. Marprelate you put more than the question in the conclusion of your syllogisme.*

standers of reformation, enemies of the gossell, and most covetous wretched priests. This is a pretie matter, y<sup>t</sup> standers by, must be so busie in other mens games: why sawceboxes must you be prating? you are as mannrely as bishops, in meddling with that you have nothing to doe, as they do in taking upon them civill offices. I thinke for any maners either they or you have, that you were brought up in Bridewell. But it is well that since you last interrupted me (for now this is the second time) you seeme to have learnt your *Cato de moribus* in that you keepe your selves on the margent. Woulde you be answered? Then you must know, that I have set downe nothing but the trueth in the conclusion, and the syllogismes are mine owne, I may do what I will with them, and thus holde you content. But what say you my horned masters of the Confocation house? you denie my minor againe I know. And thus I prove it. First

*That our Prelates usurpe their authoritie.*

They usurpe their authoritie, who violently and unlawfully, retaine those under their government, that both woulde and ought (if they might) to shake of that yoke wherewith

they are kept under. But our Lord bishops retaine such (namely other pastors) and unlawfully under their yoke, who both woulde and ought to reiect the same. For all the pastors in the land, that deserve the names of pastors, are against their wil under the bishops iurisdiction. And they are unlawfully detained by them, because no pastor can be lawfully kept under the pastoral (I meane not the civill) authoritie of any one man. Therefore our Bb. and proud popish, presumptuous, profane, paultrie, pestilent and pernicious prelates, bishop of Hereforde and all: are first usurpers to beginne the matter withall.

Secondly

*Our Prelates claime this authoritie over those, who by the ordinance of God, are to be under no Pastors.*

That is, they claime pastorall authoritie over other ministers and pastors, who by the ordinance of God, are appointed to be pastors and shepheards to feede others, and not sheep, or such as are to have shepheards, by whom they are to be fedd and overseene: which authoritie the bishops claime unto themselves. For they say that they are pastors of al the pastors within their dioces.



And take this of M. Marprelates worde, that there is no pastor of pastors, but he is a pope. For who but a pope will claime this authoritie.

Thirdly,

*This authoritie of our L. Bb. in England, is accounted Antichristian of the most Churches in the worlde.*

As of the Heluetian, the Scottish, French, Bohemian, and the Churches of the low countries, the Churches of Polonia, Denmarke, within the dominions of the Count Palatine, of the Churches in Saxonie, and Swevia, &c. which you shall see evidently proved in the Harmonie of the Confessions of all those Churches, Section the eleventh. Which Harmonie, was translated and printed by that puritan Cambridg printer, Thomas Thomas.<sup>1</sup> And although the booke came out by publike authoritie, yet by your leave the Bishops have called them in, as things against their state. And trust me, his grace will owe that puritane printer as good as turne, as hee paide unto

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Thomas was an M.A. of King's College, and the author of a Dictionary (1588); he was licensed printer to the University in 1582. When the translation of the *Harmony* was being printed, 1586, Whitgift ordered the Vice-Chancellors and Heads to stop it: but it was published the same year, with 'alowed by publike authoritie' in the title-page.

Robert Waldegrave for his sawciness in printing my frend and deare brother Diotrephes his Dialogue.<sup>1</sup> Well frend Thomas I warne you before hand, look to your selfe.

Well nowe to mine eloquence, for I can doe it I tell you. Who made the porter of his gate a dumb minister? Dumbe John of London.<sup>2</sup> Who abuseth her Maiesties subiects, in urging them to subscribe contrary to lawe? John of London. Who abuseth the high commission, as much as any? John London, (and D. Stanop to). Whoe bound an Essex minister, in £200 to weare the surplice on Easter day last? John London. Who hath cut downe the Elmes at Fulham?<sup>3</sup> John London. Who is a carnall defender of the breache of the Sabboth in all the places of his abode? John London. Who forbiddeth men to humble themselves in fasting and prayer before the Lorde, and then

<sup>1</sup> This famous dialogue is called 'The State of the Church of England laide open in a Conference between Diotrephes a Byshoppe, Tertullus a Papiste, Demetrius a Usurer, Pandochus an Inne-keeper, and Paula a preacher of the Word of God.' See *A Parte of a Register*.

<sup>2</sup> Aylmer had been tutor to Lady Jane Grey, and was a zealous reformer in Edward VI.'s reign. It was he who, by his sermon against dress, drew from Elizabeth the threat that 'If he held more discourse of such matters, she would fit him for heaven; but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ile make you weary of it dumbe John, except you leave persecuting.*

can say unto the preachers, now you were best to tell the people, that we forbydd fastes? John London. Who goeth to bowles upon the Sabbath? Dumbe dunsticall John of good London, hath done all this.

Now may it please you to examine my worthines your brother Martin, and see whether I saide not true in the storie of Gyles Wiggington, where I have set downe, y<sup>t</sup> the preaching of the word is an heresie, which his grace<sup>1</sup> doth mortally abhorre and persecute, I can proove it without doubt. And first that he persecuteth the preaching of the worde (whether it be an heresie or not) both in thê preacher and the hearer: the articles of subscription, the silencing of so many learned and worthy preachers do evidently shew, and if you doubt hereof, let my worshipp understand thereof, and in my next treatize, I shal prove the matter to be cleare with a witnes, and I hope to your smal commendations, that will

<sup>1</sup> Whitgift. In spite of his undoubted severity, Mosheim says of him that he was 'disinterested, consistent, single-minded, liberal, and discerning above most men. His great natural blemish was hastiness of temper. This, however, he corrected by a spirit so thoroughly considerate and forgiving that his friends rather apprehended from him undue levity.' But 'when principle was at stake he would make no compromise.' He was an extreme Calvinist, and, in 1595, drew up the famous, or infamous, Lambeth Articles. See also p. 85-6.

deny such a cleare point. On the other side, that he accounteth preaching to be an heresie, I am now to insist on the prooffe of that poynt. But first you must know, that he did not account simple preaching to be an heresie, but to holde that preaching is the onely ordinary meanes to saluation, this he accounteth as an heresie, this he mortally condemned. The case thus stoode, John Penrie the welsheman (I thinke his grace and my brother London, would be better acquain<sup>1</sup> with him and they could tell howe) about the beginning of Lent, 1587, offered a supplication and a booke to the Parliament, entreating that some order might be taken, for calling his countrie unto the knowledge of God. For his bolde attempt, he was called before his grace with others of the high commission, as Thomas of Winchester, John London, &c. After that his grace had eased his stomacke in calling him boy, knave, varlet, slanderer, libeller, lewde boy, lewd slanderer, &c., (this is true, for I have seene the notes of their conference<sup>2</sup>) at the length a poynt of his booke began to be examined, where non-residents are thought intollerable. Here the Lorde of good London asked M. Penrie, what

<sup>1</sup> [ted].

<sup>2</sup> They were reprinted in *A Parte of a Register*.

he could say against that kind of cattell, aunswere was made that they were odious in the sight of God and man, because as much as in them lie, they bereave the people over whom they thrust themselves, of the ordinarie meanes of salvation, which was the word preached. John London demaunded whether preaching was the onely meanes to salvation? Penrie answered, that it was the onely ordinarie meanes, although the Lorde was not so tyed unto it, but that hee could extraordinarily use other meanes. That preaching was the onely ordinary meanes, he confirmed it by those places of Scripture, Rom. x. 14, 1 Cor. i. 21, Ephes. i. 13. This point being a long time canvassed, at the length his worship of Winchester rose up, and mildly after his manner, brast forth into these words. I assure you my Lords, it is an execrable heresie: An heresie (quoth John Penry) I thanke God that ever I knewe that heresie; It is such an heresie, that I will by the grace of God, sooner leave my life then I will leave it. What sir, (quoth the Archb.) I tell thee it is an heresie, and thou shalt recant it as an heresie? Naye (quoth Penrie) never so long as I live godwilling. I will leave this storie for shame, I am weary to hear your grace so absurd. What say you to

this geare my masters of the confocation house? we shal have shortly a good religion in England among the bishops? if Paule be sayd of them to write an heresie.

But lest you should thinke, that he hath not as good a gift in speaking against his conscience, as my L. of Cant. is endued with: you are to understand, that both in that sermon of his, and in another which he preached at the court the same Lent, he protested before God, and the congregation where he stood,<sup>1</sup> y<sup>t</sup> there was not in the world at this day: nay there had not bin since the Apostles time, such a flourishing estate of the Church, as we have now in England. Is it any marvaile that we have so many swine, dumbe dogs, nonresidents, with their iournemen the hedge priests, so many lewd livers, as theeves, murtherers, adulterers, drunkards, cormorants, raschals, so many ignorant and atheistical dolts, so many covetous popish Bb. in our ministry: and so many and so monstrous corruptions in our Church, and yet likely to have no redresse: Seeing our impudent, shamelesse, and wainscote faced bishops, like beasts, contrary to the knowledge of all men, and against

<sup>1</sup> *A flattering hypocrit.*

their own consciences, dare in the eares of her Maiestie, affirme all to be well, where there is nothing but sores and blisters, yea where the grief is even deadly at the heart. Nay saies my L. of Winchester (like a monstrous hypocrite, for he is a very duns, not able to defende an argument, but till he come to the pinch, he will cog and face it out, for his face is made of seasoned wainscot, and wil lie as fast as a dog can trot) I have said it, I doe say it, and I have said it. And say I, you shall one day answere it (without repentance) for abusing the Church of God and her Maiestie in this sort. I would wish you leave this villanie, and the rest of your divellishe practises against God his saintes, lest you answer it where your pievish and chollerick simplicitie will not excuse you. I am ashamed to think that the Church of England shoulde have these wretches for the eyes thereof, that woulde have the people content themselves with bare reading onely, and holde that they may be saved thereby ordinarily.

*Conditions of Peace to be inviolable kept for ever, betweene the reverend and worthy master Martin Marprelate gentleman on the one partie, and the reverend fathers his brethren, the Lord bishops of this lande.*<sup>1</sup>

1. *In primis*, the said Lord Bb. must promise and observe, without fraud or collusion, and that as much as in them lyeth, they labor to promote the preaching of the worde in every part of this land.

2. That hereafter they admitt none unto the ministerie, but such as shalbe knowen, both for their godlinesse and learning, to be fit for the ministerie, and not these neyther without cure, unlesse they be Colledge ministers of eyther of the Universities, and in no case they suffer any to be nonresidents: and that they suffer M. Cartwrightes answer to the Rhemish Testament to be published.

<sup>1</sup> It is not merely in jest that Marprelate proposes these conditions. The Puritans, it must be remembered, were perfectly confident of success; indeed, among some papers seized by the Archbishop's officers in this very year, 1588, we find evidence that they had already begun to allot the spoil, and to discuss, 'how, when all the Church's revenues that there were should be converted to maintain their presbyteries, her Majesty should be recompensed for her first-fruits and tenths, for that they would pay none, as being unlawful.' (Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, 292.)



3. That neyther they nor their servants, vz. their Archdeacons, Chancellors, nor any other of the high commission, which serve their vile affections, urge any to subscribe contrary to the statute 13. Eliza. and that they suspend or silence none, but such, as either for their false doctrine, or evill life, shall show themselves, to be unworthy the places of ministers : so that none be suspended or silenced, eyther for speaking (when their text giveth them occasion) against the corruptions of the Church, for refusing to weare the surplice, cap, tippet,<sup>1</sup> &c., or omitting the corruptions of the book of common prayers, as churching of women, the crosse in baptisme, the ring in marriage, &c.

4. That none be molested by them or any their aforesaid servants, for this my booke, for not kneeling at the communion, or for resorting on the Saboth (if they have not preachers of their owne) to heare the word preached, and to receive the Sacraments.

5. Lastly, that never hereafter they profane excommunication as they have done, by excommunicating alone in their chambers, and that for trifles : yes before mens causes be heard. That they never forbid publike fasts, molest either preacher, or hearer, for being

<sup>1</sup> Now generally known as the black scarf.

present at such assemblies. Briefly, that they never slander the cause of reformation, or the furtherers thereof, in terming the cause of the name of Anabaptisterie, schisme, &c., and the men puritans, and enemies to the state.

These be the conditions, which you brethren bishops, shalbe bound to keepe inviolably on your behalfe. And I your brother Martin on the other side, do faithfully promise upon the performaunce of the premisses by you, never to make any more of your knavery knowne unto the worlde. And howbeit that I have before threatened my brother Bridges, in the cause of his superior priest, and your Antichristian callings: notwithstanding, I will write no more of your dealings, unles you violate the former conditions. The conditions you see, are so reasonable, I might binde you to give over your places which are Antichristian: but I doe not, lest men shoulde thinke me to quarrell, and seeke occasions for the nonce to fall out with my brethren. Therefore I require no more but such things as all the worlde will thinke you unworthy to live, if you grant them not. And this I doe the rather, because you should not, according to your olde fashion, say y<sup>t</sup> my worship doth for mallice lay open your infirmities: nay I have published not one of

your secret faults, what you have not blushed to commit in the face of the sun, and in the iustifying whereof you yet stand, these things onely have I published. The best servants of God I know, have their infirmities. But none of them will stand in the maintenance of their corruptions as you do, and that to the dishonour of God and the ruine of his Church. You must either amend, or shortly you will bring our church to ruine: therefore it is time that your dealings were better looked unto.

You will go about I know, to prove my booke to be a libell, but I have prevented you of y<sup>t</sup> advantage in lawe, both in bringing in nothing but matters of fact, whiche may easily be proved, if you dare denie them: and also in setting my name to my booke. Well I offer you peace upon the former conditions, if you will keepe them, but if you violate them either in whole or in part (for why should you breake anye one of them) then your learned brother Martin doth proclaime open war against you, and entendeth to worke your woe 2 maner of wayes as followeth. First I will watch you at every halfe turne, and whatsoever you do amisse, I will presently publish it: you shall not call one honest man before

you, but I will get his examination<sup>1</sup> (and you thinke I shall knowe nothing of the oppression of your tenants by your briberie, &c.) and publish it, if you deal not according to the former conditions. To this purpose I will place a young Martin<sup>2</sup> in everie diocesse, which may take notice of you practizes. Do you think that you shalbe suffred any longer, to break the law of God, and to tyrannize over his people her Maiesties subiects, and no man tell you of it? No, I warrant you. And rather then I will be disappointed of my purpose, I will place a Martin in everie parish. In part of Suffolk and Essex, I thinke I were best to have 2 in a parishe. I hope in time they shalbe as worthie Martins as their father is, every one of them able to mar a prelate. Marke what wil be the issue of these things, if you still keep your olde byas. I knowe you would not have your dealings so knowne unto the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* his cross-examination at the hands of the Commissioners. Some of these were published in the well-known collection of tracts *A Parte of a Register*. They naturally formed a useful kind of minor martyrology.

<sup>2</sup> The Puritans, soon after 1580, began to hold frequent provincial assemblies. At one of these, in London, 1588, it was agreed 'that the oppressions offered to others, and especially to the Ministers, by the Bishops and the Bishop's officers, and by their courts should be gathered and registered.' Strype observes that this is according to the 'young Martin' threat.

worlde, as I and my sonnes will blase them. Secondly, al the books that I have in store already of your doings, shalbe published upon the breache of the former covenants or any of them.

Men when commonly they dedicate bookes unto any, enter into commendations of those unto whom they write. But I care not an I owe you my cleargie masters a commendations, and pay you when you better deserve it. In stead thereof, I will give you some good counsel and advice, which if you followe, I assure you it will be the better for you.

First I would advise you as before I have said, to set at libertie all the preachers that you have restrained from preaching: otherwise it shalbe the worse for you, my reason is this. The people are altogether discontented for want of teachers. Some of them alreadie runne into corners, and more are like, because you keepe the meanes of knowledge from them. Running into corners will breed Anabaptistrie, Anabaptistrie will allienate the heartes of the subiects from their lawfull governour. And you are the cause hereof. And wil not her Maiestie then think you, require the hearts of her subiectes at your

handes, when she shal understand that they are alienated (as God forbid they should) from her by your means? Yes I warrant you. And if they should put up a supplication unto her highnesse, that their preachers might be restored unto them, I doubt not but they should be heard. I can tell you she tendreth the estate of her people, and will not discourage their hearts, in casting of their suits, to maynetaine your pride and covetousnesse: you were then better to set the preachers at libertie, then to suffer your cruelty and evill dealing to be made known unto her. For so they shall be sure I doubt not to prevaile in their suit, and you to go by the worse. And try if her Maiestie be not shortly mooved in this suit. To it my masters roundly, you that meane to deale herein, and on my life you set the prelates in such a quandare, as they shal not know wher to stand. Now M. Prelates I will give you some more counsell, follow it. Repent cleargie men, and especially bishoppes, preach sayth Bb. and sweare no more by it, give over your Lordly callings: reform your families and your children: They are the patterne of loosenesse, withstand not the knowen truth no longer: you have seduced her Maiestie and her people. Praye her

Maiestie to forgive you, and the Lord first to put away your sinnes. Your government is Antichristian, decieve the Lord no longer thereby: you wil grow from evil to worse unlesse betimes you return. You are now worse then you were 29 yeeres ago: write no more against the cause of reformation: your ungodlinesse is made more manifest by your writings: And because you cannot answer what hath bene written against you, yeeld unto the trueth. If you should write, deal syllogistically: For you shame your selves, when you use any continued speach, because your stile is so rude and barbarous. Raile no more in the pulpitt against good men, you do more hurt to your selves, and your owne desperat cause, in one of your rayling sermons, then you could in speaking for reformation. For everie man that hath any light of religion in him will examine your groundes, which being found ridiculous (as they are) will be decided, and your cause made odious. Abuse not the high commission as you do, against the best subiects. The commission it selfe was ordained for very good purposes, but it is most horriblie abused by you, and turned cleane contrarie to the ende wherefore it was ordayned. Helpe the poore people to the meanes of their salvation,

that perish in their ignorance : make restitution unto your tenants, and such as from whome you have wrongfully extorted any thing : Usurpe no longer, the authoritie of making of ministers and excommunication : Let poore men be no more molested in your ungodly courts : Studie more then you doe, and preache oftener : Favor nonresidents and papists no longer : labor to cleanse y<sup>e</sup> ministry of the swarms of ignorant guides, wherewith it hath bin defiled : Make conscience of breaking the Sabbath, by bowling and tabling : Be ring-leaders of prophanenes no longer unto the people : Take no more bribes : Leave your Symonie : Favor learning more then you doe, and especially godly learning : Stretch your credit if you have any to the furtherance of the gossell : You have ioyned the prophanation of the magistracie, to the corruption of the ministerie : Leave this sinne. All in a word, become good christians, and so you shall become good subiects, and leave your tyrannie. And I would advise you, let me here no more of your evill dealing.

Given at my Castle between two Wales, neither foure dayes from penillesse benche, nor yet at the West ende of Shroffttide : but the



foureteenth yeare at the least, of the age of Charing crosse, within a yeare of Mid-sommer, betweene twelve and twelve of the clocke.

*Anno pontificatus vestri Quinto*, and I hope *ultimo* of all Englishe Popes.

By your learned and worthie brother,

MARTIN MARPRELATE.

## VI

### THE ANTI-MARPRELATE LIBELS

[Very short extracts will suffice to give the reader a notion as to the kind of trouncing which Nash and his friends found so successful against the Martinist writers. The exact authorship is difficult to fix, since on this side also the controversy was anonymous. It is however pretty certain that Nash set the ball rolling with *A Countercuffe*, and wrote most of the pamphlets himself, and that the others were written by his intimate friends, Lyly among them. Gabriel Harvey, Nash's malignant and life-long enemy, wrote in 1590 that Lyly was the author of *Pappe*; while Anthony à Wood, Collins the historian, and I. D'Israeli attribute *Almond* to him. Maskell ('Marprelate Controversy,' 1845), also, on grounds of style, attributes this tract to Lyly; and certainly it is so superior both in style and in the cogency of its argument to the rest as to suggest a different authorship to that of Nash. At all events Lyly was closely associated with Nash during the controversy, and wrote either *Pappe* or *Almond*. 'Pasquil' was a *nom de plume* of Nash; he therefore wrote also *The Return of Pasquil*, and the last libel of all, written in 1590, *The First Part of Pasquil's Apologie*.

Lyly (1554?-1606) is best known, because of his

*Euphues*, to modern readers; Nash, however, enjoyed a literary position little inferior to him, and shares with Defoe the distinction of being the father of the modern novel. All that he accomplished was before he was 34, for he died at that age in 1601; and during the latter part of his life he was much occupied by the long controversy with Gabriel Harvey, which was a legacy of the Marprelate dispute. For *Plaine Percevall*, the last retort on the Puritan side, was by Gabriel's brother, Richard Harvey the astrologer; it was a feeble attempt at compromise, but attacked with some violence the former tracts of Nash and Lyly, especially *Pappe*. The paper war which followed, including Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, and Gabriel's *Trimming of Thomas Nash*, was continued with extraordinary ferocity, especially on the part of Harvey.

One more of the anti-Martinist libels of 1589 remains to be mentioned, the *Monthe's Minde*. It contains a dedication to 'Pasquin,' *i.e.* Pasquil, and is therefore probably not by Nash, but by some intimate friend. In wit and point it is one of the best in the controversy, and contains a reference to the new 'Golden Legend' of the Puritans which Nash often promised, but never executed; Pasquil will have a good subject in these new saints, the writer says, and proceeds to an enumeration of the seven deadly sins, and the cardinal virtues; 'But for the three Theological Vertues,' he concludes, 'they excell, of all that ever I heard of:—*Faith*, for I doubt me whether they bee of anie. *Hope* which is to see the overthrowe of all. And *Charitie*, for they detest and damne all but themselves.'

In the opinion of the next generation it was to Nash that the discomfiture of the Martinists was

chiefly due. Isaac Walton, for instance, wrote in his 'Life of Hooker' that Nash's merry wit had 'made some sport and such a discovery of [the Martinist's] absurdities as—which is strange—he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets than a much wiser man had been able.' In Nash's favour it must be remembered that he was only twenty-two at the time of the Marprelate controversy.]

*From*  
*PAPPE WITH AN HATCHET.*<sup>1</sup>

Alias,  
*A figge for my God sonne.*

Or  
*Cracke me this nut.*

Or  
*A Countrie cuffe, that is a sound boxe of the*  
*eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his peace,*  
*seeing the patch will take no*  
*warning.*

*Written by one that dares call a dog, a dog,*  
*and made to prevent Martins dog daies.*  
Imprinted by *John Anoke*, and *John Astile*, for the  
Baylive of *Withernam*, *cum privilegio perennita-*  
*tis*, and are to bee sold at the signe of the  
crab tree cudgell in thwack-  
coate lane.

*A sentence.*  
*Martin hangs fit for my mowing.*

\* \* \* \* \*

MARTIN, wee are now following after thee  
with hue and crie, and are hard at thy heeles ;

<sup>1</sup> To give pap with a hatchet was a proverbial expression for doing a kind thing in an unkind manner.

if thou turne backe to blade it, wee doubt not but three honest men shall bee able to beate sixe theeves. Weele teach thee to commit sacriledge, and to robbe the Church of xxiii. Bishops at a blowe. Doost thinke that wee are not men Martin, and have great men to defend us which write? Yes, although with thy seditious cloase, thou would'st perswade her Maiestie, that most of the Gentlemen of account and men of honour, were by us thought Puritanes. No, it is your poore Johns,<sup>1</sup> that with your painted consciences have coloured the religion of divers, spreading through the veynes of the Commonwealth like poyson, the doggednes of your devotions; which entring in like the smoothnes of oyle into the flesh, fretteth in time like quicksilver into the bones.

When children play with their meate, tis a signe their bellies are full, and it must be taken from them; but if they tread it under their feete, they ought to be ierkt. The Gospell hath made us wantons, wee dallie with ceremonies, dispute of circumstances, not remembring that the Papists have been making roddes for us this thirtie yeares; wee shall bee

<sup>1</sup> Poor John is a coarse kind of fish, and is used here by metonymy for a poor fellow.

swing'd by them, or worse by Martin, if Martins be worse. Never if it, for they bee worse with a witnesse, and let the divell be witnesse. Wee are so nice, that the Cap is a beame in our Church, the booke of Common Praier a milstone, the *Pater noster* is not well pend by Christ. Well, either religion is but policie, or policie scarce religious.

If a Gentleman riding by the way with twentie men, a number of theeves should by devise or force binde all his servants; the good Justice of Peace would thinke he should be robd. When Martinists rancke robbers of the Church shall binde the legges and armes of the Church, me thinkes the supreme head of the Church should looke pale.

They that pull downe the bells of a steeple, and say it is conscience, will blow up the chauncell to make it the quintessence of conscience. Bir Ladie, this is a good settled speech, a Divine might have seemed to have said so much. O sir, I am nor al tales, and riddles, and rimes, and restes, thats but my Liripoope,<sup>1</sup> if Martin knock the bone he shall find marrow, and if he looke for none, we'le

<sup>1</sup> That is, a humour put on, an assumed character. The liripoope or liripipe, was the clerical tippet, or scarf; it was also used of a scarf in ordinary dress.

knock the bone on his pate, and bring him on  
his marie bones.

\* \* \* \* \*

*From*  
AN ALMOND FOR A PARRAT,<sup>1</sup>  
*Or*  
Cutbert Curry-knaves  
*Almes.*

Fit for the knave Martin, and the  
*rest of those impudent Beggars, that*  
can not be content to stay their stomakes  
with a Benefice, but they will needes  
breake their fastes with  
our Bishops.

*Rimarum sum plenus.*

Therefore beware (gentle Reader) you  
catch not the hicket<sup>2</sup> with laughing.

Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a  
Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body and  
are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knave  
Street, at the signe of the  
Standish.

\* \* \* \* \*

To leave his nativitie<sup>3</sup> to the Church porch,  
where the parish found him, and come to his

<sup>1</sup> 'An almond for a parrot' was a proverbial phrase  
for a stopper to the mouth, equivalent to 'a sop to  
Cerberus.'

<sup>2</sup> Hiccup.

<sup>3</sup> What follows is a personal attack on Penry, already  
suspected of being Martin Marprelate.

riper yeres, that now had learnd *Puerilis*, of the poore mans boy, and nere as pretily entred in Ave Marie English, as any parish clarke in those parts. I am to tel you how laudibly he behaved himselfe in Peterhouse, during the time of his subsistership. First therefore he began with his religion at his first comming thether, *Hoc scitote viri*, that he was as arrant a papist as ever came out of Wales. I tell you *I. a P.*<sup>1</sup> in those daies, would have run a false gallop over his beades with anie man in England, and helpt the Priest for a shift to saie Masse at high midnight, which is need were, I doubt not but he would do at this houre. It was not for nothing my masters, that he so be-baited his betters, for shewing the people the relique of our Ladies smock in his sermon, and open detecting of all their other blind superstition. Say what you will, he is a close lad, and can carrie a ring in his mouth, though all the world see it not: what though hee now dissemble with the time, and disguise his Spanish heart in a Precisians<sup>2</sup> habit. May not he hereafter prove a necessarie member in conspiracies common wealth, and advantage the holy league as much in this meanes of sedition, as all *Philips* power by

<sup>1</sup> John a Penry.

<sup>2</sup> Puritan's.



invasion. Simple English men, that cannot see into pollicie before it surprise your peace, nor interrupt the ambition of trechery, before it hath besieged your prosperitie. Doe you beholde whiles innovations bud, and do not you feare lest your children and family be poisoned with the fruit.

But you fond men, as in garments so in government continually affecting new fashions, thinke no man can be saved y<sup>t</sup> hath not bin at Geneva. Your beleefe forsooth must be of that Scottish kinde, and your Bibles of the primitive print, else your consciences God wot, are not of the canonical cut, nor your opinions of the Apostles stamp. *Pen* with Pan, hath contended with Appollo, and you lyke Midasses, have overprised his musick. Good God, y<sup>t</sup> a Welch harpe should inchant so many English harts to their confusion, especially having nere a string belonging to it, but a treble. Had a syren sung, and I drownd in attending her descante. I would have bequeathed my bane to her beautie, but when Cerberus shall barke and I turne back to listen, then let me perish without pittie, in the delight of my living destruction. Deceit hath tooke up his seat in

a dunce, and you thinke him a saint, because he comes not in the shape of a devil. We know M. *Pen. intus et in cute*, first for a papist, then for a Brownist, next for an Anabaptist, and last for y<sup>e</sup> blasphemous *Martin*, whose spirite is the concrete compound of all these unpardonable heresies.

If the dogge *Martin* barke againe, Ile hold him tugges for two or three courses, and then beware my blacke booke you were best, for I have not halfe emboweld my register. Amend, amend, and glorie no more in your hipocrisie, least your pride and vaine glory betray our prosperitie to our enimies, and procure the Lords vengeance to dwell in the gates of our citie. The simple are abused, the ignorant deluded, the Gods truth most pitifully perverted, and thou art that most wretched seducer, that under wolves raiment devourest widowes houses. Visions are ceast, and all extraordinarie revelation ended, although a good fellow in Cambridge, hearing all thinges might be obtained by prayer, prayed two dayes and two nights for visions: wherefore broach no more heresies under colour of inspiration: if thou doest, thou art like to heare of me by

the next Carrier. And so bon nute<sup>1</sup> to your Noddishippe.

Yours to command as your owne  
for two or three cudgellings at all times.

CUTBERT CURRIKNAVE  
the younger.

MARTIN'S EPITAPH.

(From 'A Monthe's Minde.')

Hic jacet, ut pinus,  
Nec Caesar, nec Ninus,  
Nec magnus Godwinus,  
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,  
Nec plus nec minus  
Quam clandestinus,  
Miser ille Martinus,  
Videte singuli.

O vos Martinistae,  
Et vos Brounistae,  
Et Familionistae,  
Et Anabaptistae,  
Et omnes sectistae,  
Et Machivelistae,  
Et Atheistae,  
Quorum dux fuit iste,  
Lugete singuli.

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<sup>1</sup> Good-night.

## VII

### ROBERT PARSONS

[Robert Parsons, or Persons (1546 - 1610), after being a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, where he had serious quarrels with the master, went abroad, and joined the Church of Rome in 1574, and in the following year entered upon his noviciate as a Jesuit. In 1580 Father Parsons was sent back to England disguised as a soldier in a buff coat: he went about the country, made many important converts, and set up a secret printing-press at East Ham near London. It was here that the *Brief Discours* was printed in the same year. The press was very active for a time, producing among other books the *Decem Rationes* of Campian; but in July 1581 Campian was captured, and Parsons had to escape to Normandy. He became a great political intriguer, and continually pressed Philip of Spain to invade England, his Spanish policy being the cause of a split among the English Roman Catholics. But he withstood all the attacks of the secular priests, and ended his days at the English College in Rome, of which he had been Rector thirteen years. Parsons was an extraordinarily able and active man, and the embodiment of all that the word Jesuit is supposed to mean: a born intriguer, with unusual diplomatic gifts and opportunities, he was devoted to his cause and blameless in private life. His *Book of Christian Exercise* was so famous as to have been edited (with 'corruptions' omitted) by

Bunny an Anglican, who dedicated it to the Archbishop of York in 1584. His *Memorial of the Reformation* was also re-edited by an Anglican, Gee a chaplain to James II., as a warning against Jesuitry.

At the time when Parsons issued the *Brief Discours* from his Press at East Ham, the laws against Papists were being enforced with great severity. Proclamations had been made against all who harboured priests, and the country was full of spies. In December several priests were captured and tortured, and the prisons were filled with Romanist recusants. In January 1581 a session of Parliament was convoked 'to find a remedy for the poison of the Jesuits'; and the Act of March 18th made it treason to be reconciled to the Roman Church, or to be absolved by a priest, while it largely increased the fines for recusancy. There was therefore every inducement for a Romanist to cloak his religion by outward conformity; and a Roman secular priest, Dr Alban Langdale, issued an anonymous tract in favour of the lawfulness of going to church as an outward act of obedience. Thereupon Parsons produced the *Brief Discours*, under the pseudonym of John Howlet: boldly prefacing it with an epistle dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth.]

*From*

'A BRIEF DISCOURS

contayning certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church,' 1580.

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The Answer of a Vertuous and Lernerd Man to A Gentleman in England, towching the late imprisonment of Catholiques ther.

THE Vew of your late letters (my dere and worshipful frind) brought unto me some sorowe and much comfort. The sorowe proceeded of the woful and afflicted case of my pore countrie so pityfullye set downe by youre penn unto myne eye, wherin (as you writ) so many greate Gentlemen of worshipp are imprisoned for there conscience and relygion of late, so many good howses broken up, so mani hows holders dispersed and fled away, so many yonge Gentlemen and servantes unprovided,<sup>1</sup> so many pore people destitute, so many wyves discoyned from there husbandes, so many children berefte of ther parentes, suche fleeinge, suche runninge, such shuttinge up in prisons, such pitifull abidinge hunger, thirst, and cold in prison, as you describe, dolefull for us to heare heere, but more ruffull for you to behold ther, and all this for different opinions in religion, a miserie not accustomed to fal in our fathers dayes, upon that noble realme.

But as these were causes of some sorow, so was it no meane comforte unto me, to consider that in these wicked and loose times of ours, wherein there is no feelinge or sence of vertue leafte, but all men enwrapped in the love of Godes professed enemye the world,

<sup>1</sup> *A pitifull description of England at this daye.*

followinge with all force, and full sayle, the vanities and ambition of the same : that their should be fownde in England so many gentlemen both for their yeares, livinges, and other habilities,<sup>1</sup> as fit to be as vayne as the reste, yet so precyse in matters of religion, and so respective to their consciences, as that they wil prefer their soul before ther body, and gods cause before theyr owne ease, na that they will rather venture both body and goodes, lyfe, landes, libertye and all, then they wil doe any thinge contrary to theyr consciences whereby they must be iudged at the last daye. This is suche a thing, as it must nedes bring comforte to all men, and can iustly greve none, excepte the common enemy the devil him selfe. For as for strangers, they must nedes be edefied therewith : as for English men, they must nedes be incoraged therby. And as for the Princes hir selfe, shee cannot but be comforted therein, assuringe hir selfe that yf these men doe sticke so firmly unto theyr consciences and fayth sworne unto God in theyr othe of baptisme : then wil they as firmly for the same conscience, stik unto hir Maiestie, if occasion should serve, in keepinge theyre secondary faythe and allegiance, sworne unto

<sup>1</sup> *A rare matter of comfort.*

hir Highnes as to the substitute of God. Their adversaries also and persecutors, it can not in any reason mistyke, for that the contrarye religion were to have them as constant and faithful in that, if it were possible to win them to the same.

But notwithstanding, seeing you wryte that ther is both great dislyke, and displesure also takes of it, as though their constancie were obstinacie, and their conscience meere will: (which most of all greeveth (as you wryte) their obedient and well meaninge mindes) albeit otherwise the pressure it self be so heavie as the burden therof is sore and grievous to beare: for these causes, and for the geevinge of some more lyght to the whol matter, I wil (as you seeme to desire) most briefly towch three things in this letter, wherby I doubt not but that you shall accompte your selfe fullye and sufficientlye answered.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### The Seventh Reason.

The *Seventh Reason*, why a Catholick may not yeld to come the protestantes churches is, because the service which they use, is nought<sup>1</sup> and dishonorable to God, and therefore, no man

<sup>1</sup> *Noughty servyce.*



can come to it, or heare it, or seme to alow of it by his presence, without great offence to God. Nether is it sufficient to say (as commonly they use to say to beguile simple people withal) that it is the Scripture, taken out of the Gospels, Epistles, Psalmes, and the like. For by that argument, the Jewes service were good at this daye, which is taken out of the ould Testement: and al heretiques service that ever was, semed to be nothing but Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> For, as S. Austen in divers places noteth, it was alwayes y<sup>e</sup> fashion of heretiks to have Scripture in their mouthe, and to cleve only to Scriptures, and to refuse traditions as inventions of men. And we reade of the arian heretiques,<sup>2</sup> how they were wont to singe Psalmes in the stretes of Constantinople, therby to allure the people to them, And yet we may not say, that their service was good: like as we cannot say that the devils talke was good with Christ<sup>3</sup> albeit it were decked with allegation of scripture, and other sweete words. Although therefore their service be ful of scripture,<sup>4</sup> it is noe good argument that it is therfore infallible good.

<sup>1</sup> *Aug. to 6. cont. Max li. I. initio and iter. vers. si.*

<sup>2</sup> *Al heretiques caunte Scripture.*

<sup>3</sup> *Math. iv.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hier. in ca. 408. Ose.*

For as S. Jerome sayeth of al Hereticks, *What soever they speake, or thincke that they doe speake in the prayse of God, it is the howling of woolves, and the bellowinge noyse of madde bullocks*: The reason wherof is that, which the scholler of the Apostles S. Ignatius<sup>1</sup> sayeth. *No man can cal him good, or saye he doth wel, that doth mingle evil with good.* Wherfore S. Augustine sayeth of the Donatistes, schismatickes, and Heretickes, of his tyme, that albeit they did sounde out Alleluia<sup>2</sup> with as lusty a voyce as the Catholickes did, and in many things else did agree in Service with them (more then now the Protestants doe with us) yet their service was impious, and avayled them nothing.<sup>3</sup> And a litle after, upon the wordes of God, uttered by the Prophete, sayinge *In manye things they were with me,*<sup>4</sup> &c. S. Austin sayeth thus. *God granteth that Heretyckes in many thinges are with him, as in Sacramentes, Cerimonies, and the lyke: But yet for all that they are not with me (saieth God) in al thinges. For in that they are in schisme, they are not with me: in that they are in heresie, they are not with me: and therefore,*

<sup>1</sup> *Ignat. ep. 2.*

<sup>2</sup> *Aug. in ps. 54.*

<sup>3</sup> *A little evil marreth a gret deal of good.*

<sup>4</sup> *In psal. 54.*

*for these few things in the which they are not with me, thos other many thinges in the which they are with me, shal profit them nothing.* To come nerer to our purpose, their owne Apostle, and second Elias (as they cal him) Luther,<sup>1</sup> condemneth al their whole service, for the denying onely of the real presence, saying. *The Sacramentaries doe in vaine beleee in God the father, in God the sonne, and in the holye Ghost,<sup>2</sup> and in Christ our Savyour: al this doth awayle them nothings, seeynge they doe denye this one Article, as false, of the reall presence. Where as Christe doth saye, This is my body.* Loe heere this Prophet with the same spirite wherewith he condemneth the Popes, he condemneth the Protestants, why should we beleee him more in the one, then in the other?

But now to shew wherein the Protestants service<sup>3</sup> is evil, it were sufficient to say, that it is devised of them selves, and altogether different from al the service of Christendome besids: and therefore not to be receaved by Catholickes, with whom they deale too chyldishelye, when they say, their service

<sup>1</sup> *Luthers opinion of our Protestant service.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cop. dial. 6. ca. 15.*

<sup>3</sup> *Where in the Protestants service is evil, in particuler.*

differeth in nothing from the old Catholicke service, but onely because it is in English:<sup>1</sup> therby thinckinge to make the simple people, to have the lesse scruple to come to it. The which how false it is, it shal appeare by that which I wil saye hereafter. I myghte also bringe the opinion of all the hotter sorte of Protestantes, called the Puritayns, who in wrytinge, sermons, and private speache, doe utterlye condemne,<sup>2</sup> the service whiche nowe Protestantes have, and thereupon doe refrayne from it, as much as Catholicks, But I wil geve more particuler reasons, as foloweth.

First the scripture is read there in false and shameles translations,<sup>3</sup> contayning manifest and wilful corruptions, to drawe it to their owne purposes, as hath bene shewed in particuler, by manye learned men in their worckes: and is lyke to be (shortly) more playnlye by the grace of God. As for example, throughe out the scripture, where Idoles are forbidden, they translate it Images, as in Sainte John they reade. *Children keepe your selves from Images.*<sup>4</sup>

Whereas the scripture sayeth *Idoles*. And

<sup>1</sup> *Devysed by them selves different from y<sup>e</sup> rest.*

<sup>2</sup> *Condemned by y<sup>e</sup> Puritains.*

<sup>3</sup> *False translations of scripture.*

<sup>4</sup> 1 Joh. v.

this is, to make simple men beleewe, that Idoles and Images are al one, which is absurde. For then, where Moyses sayethe: That God made man accordinge to his owne Image.<sup>1</sup> We should consequently say: God made man accordinge to hys owne Idole. Againe, where in contrarie maner S. Paule sayeth. *That a covetous man maketh his mony his Idole.*<sup>2</sup> We shoulde saye, that he maketh it, his Image. The which howe foolishe it is, everye man seethe, and it can not stande with anye sence of the Scripture. The like absurde translations they have, in infinite other thinges, which I cannot stande to rehearse. Let some man reade the latter ende of the xv. chapter of the second booke of the Machabies,<sup>3</sup> where he shal see what labour their Inglishe translation taketh to shifte over the woordes of the Scripture, which talk of oblations and prayers for the dead: and by that one place, let everye man iudge of his fidelitie in the reste.<sup>4</sup> For I am sure, that if a Boye should soe corrupte Tullies epistles, in translatinge them in a Grammer Scoole, he should be breeched for his labour. The Scripture therefore, being read there, in false translations, it muste needes

<sup>1</sup> *Gen.* i. 3.<sup>2</sup> *Ephe.* v.<sup>3</sup> *2 Macha.* 12.<sup>4</sup> See the *Englishe Byble dedycated to Kynge Henry.*

seeme to be false, which is blasphemie against the holy Ghost the indyter of them. Soe that by this, it appeareth, that, that part of their service which they pretende to be Scripture, is no Scripture, because it is by the malice of the interpretour false, the whiche Scripture can not be.

*Secondly*, the service that Christians ought only to goe to, should be sayd, as also the Sacramentes administred, by Priestes<sup>1</sup> and such as have receyved the Sacrament of holy orders, as al the general Councils and Fathers of the Churche, shewe unto us.<sup>2</sup> And S. Paule when he saythe. That no man may take unto him this honour, but he that is called as Aaron was. Wherefore the same Paul adviseth the Bishope Timothie, not to geve this dignytie unto any man but upon grete consideration, saying. Doe not laye thy handes rashlye uppon any man. But nowe that ether all, or the moste parte of mynisters of Englande,<sup>3</sup> be meere laye men, and noe priestes,<sup>4</sup> and consequentye have noe authoritie in these thinges, it is evidente for manye causes:<sup>5</sup> as wel for

<sup>1</sup> Sayd by lay men.

<sup>2</sup> *Ig. ad Hier Chri. li. 3 and 6 de Sacer. and hom. 60 Hier. ep. ad Helio. and ep. 85 ad Eua. Ambro. in Ephes. 4.*

<sup>3</sup> *Heb. v.*

<sup>4</sup> *1 Tim. v. I.e. not ordained according to the mediæval rite.*

<sup>5</sup> *Con. 4. Car. can. 6 and Concil. Laod. can. 24. Igna. ep. ad Anti. Arco. ca. 3.*

that they have not receaved the under Orders, which they should have done before Priest-hoode, (as appeareth by the auneyent Council of Carthage, wherein Saint Augustine was himselfe) and by al the Fathers bothe before and since: as allso because they are not ordeyned by such a Bishoppe and Preist, as the Catholicke Church hath put in in that authoritye:<sup>1</sup> which admitteth noe man for Bishoppe, which is not ordeyned by imposition of three or two Catholicke Bishoppes handes at the least. Of al which thinges none are to be founde amongst the Protestantes.

Thyrdlye, their service is nought, because they have divers false, and blasphemous thinges therein:<sup>2</sup> and that which is yet worse, they soe place those things, as they may seeme to the simple, to be verye Scripture. As for example, In the end of a certayne Geneva Psalme.<sup>3</sup> They praye to God to keepe them, from Popc, Turcke, and Papistrye, which is blasphemous,<sup>4</sup> First, for ioyninge the supreme minister and substytute of Christ, with the knowen and

<sup>1</sup> *Can. Ap. 1 and 2 and 68.*

<sup>2</sup> *Falschoode and blasphemie in ther service.*

<sup>3</sup> This is a rather crooked argument of Parsons; as the 'Geneva Psalme' had nothing to do with the Church of England, while the petition against the Pope in the Litany had been struck out as early as 1559.

<sup>4</sup> *In the ende of their Geneva Psalter.*

professed enemye of Christe, and speaking soe contumelyouslye of him, of whom al antiquitye in Christ his Church, hath thought, and spoken so reverently, callinge him.<sup>1</sup> *The hygh Preist of the Church. The Bishoppe of the Universal Church. The Pastor of the Church. The iudg of matters of faith. The repurger of heresies. The examiner of all bishoppes causes. And finallye the great Preist, in obeying whom all Unitye consisteth, and by disobeyinge of whom, all Heresies and Schismes aryse.*

Secondlye, it is blasphemous, for that they praye to be delyvered from Papistrye: meaning thereby, the Catholique and onelye trewe religion, by the which all men are to be saved. Thirdlye, because they singe it, and make other simple men to singe it, in the beginning of sermons, and otherwise: as though it were scripture it selfe, and one of Davids psalmes.

Fourthlye, albeit the Protestantes service had not al this evil in it,<sup>2</sup> as it hath: yet were it nought, because it hath not in it, those good things which Christian service should have. For service maye be evil, as wel for having too

<sup>1</sup> *Cyp. de sim. pre. and Chr. li. 2. de Sa. Cyp. ep. 46. Chr. li. 2. de sa Inno. ep. 93. ap. Au. and Leo. ep. 84. Sy Alex. 4 apud Atha. Theod. li. 2 hist. ca. 4 Cy. ep. 55.*

<sup>2</sup> *Lacke of necessarye thinges which it should have in it.*



litle, as for having to much. As the service of the Arrians was, for singing, Glorie to the Father, and not singinge the same to the Sonne: And as if a man shoulde recyte his Creede, and leave out one article (as in effecte the Protestantes doe the article of discention into hel) al the whole Creede were nought thereby. Nowe, how many thinges doe want in the Protestantes service, which should be in Christian service, it were to longe in every poynte to rehearse: yet wil I (for examples sake) name two or three thinges. First therefore, they have lefte out the cheefest, and heyghest thinges of al: which is the blessed Sacrifice of Christ his Bodye and Bloud appoynted by Christ,<sup>1</sup> to be offered up everye day for thankes gevinge to God, for obtayninge of grace, and avoiding of al evil, and for the remission of sinnes both of quicke and dead: as with one consent the Fathers of the Primative Church doe affirme. The which Sacrifice being away, noe Christian service can be sayed to be there: For so much as, for this cause were ordayned preists, nether can there any be called Preist but in respecte of

<sup>1</sup> *Dion. Ariop. hier ca. 3 Ign. cp. ad Smyrn. Justin. dial. tri pho. Ter. li de orat. Au. li. 20. contr. Faust. ca. 23 Chry. hom. 17. ad Heb. Gre. li. 4. di. ca. 57.*

this Sacrifice :<sup>1</sup> Also in respect of this sacrifice were Christian Churches called temples, for this Sacrifice were made Aulters: for an Aulter is the place of Sacrifice, even as an armorye is the place where armour is. For this Sacrifice was Preistes apparell made: Vestments, Sensors, Frankensence, and the lyke, in the Prymatyve Church. Whereof all the Fathers, Councells, and historyes doe speake so muche.

The second thinge, which the Protestants service leaveth out,<sup>2</sup> is noe lesse then six,<sup>3</sup> of the seven Sacramentes, which the Catholique service of God doth use: (for as for their communion it can be no Sacrament as they doe use it.) The commoditie of which Sacraments, in the Church saint Augustine saythe.<sup>4</sup> *That it is greater, then can be expressed, and therefore the contempte of them is nolesse then sacriledge, because (saythe he) that, can not be*

<sup>1</sup> *Hiero. ep. 1. ad. Helio. Chry. li. 2. de Sacerd. Cyp. ep. 54. and li. 1. ep. 2. Au. ser. 25 2. de tempo. Optat. li. 6. cont. Dona. Au. in psa. 113. concil. 2 and Posid. in vita Au. ca. 24.*

<sup>2</sup> *Concil. flor and constat sesio. 15.*

<sup>3</sup> *Six Sacraments.* At the time when Parsons wrote. 1580, it was probably true that Penance and Extreme Unction were in abeyance, but, besides Baptism and the Communion, Confirmation, Matrimony and Holy Orders were of course administered.

<sup>4</sup> *Aug. li. 19. cont. faust. cap. 11 and 16.*

*contemned without impietie, without the helpe of which, no man can have pietie. And for this cause in an other place he saith.<sup>1</sup> That the contemnours of visible Sacraments, can by no menes, invisiblye be sanctified. The thirde thing that the Protestants service leaveth out, is, all the ceremonies<sup>2</sup> of the Catholique Church, of the which the ould auncient Fathers and Councels doe saye these three things.<sup>3</sup> First, that they are to be had in greate reverence, and to be contemned of no man. Secondlye, that they are to be learned by tradition, and that manye of them are received by the tradition of the Apostles. Lastlye, that they whiche doe ether condemne, despise, or wilfullye onyt these cerimonies, are excommunicated. I myghte here adde manye other thinges, as leavinge out prayers for the dead, being (as the Fathers holde) one of the cheefest functions of a Priest. Also for having their service in an other order and language than y<sup>e</sup> univarsal church useth: But this is sufficient.*

<sup>1</sup> *Aug. su levit. que 84.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ceremonies.*

<sup>3</sup> *Tertulia. de corona. Bas. li. de ep. 5. cap. 27. Epipha. heresi 71. Concil trid ca. 7. and 13. Cyp. cp. 66. Chri. ho. 41. vide Aug. li 2. Doct crist. Cyp. ser. de ora, dom. Isodo. li. de. div. off. Concil. Tol. 4. cap. 2. Bed. li. hist. capit. 1. In whiche authors you shal see in what tonge service was in their dayes in all countries.*

For if they leave out of their service, both Sacryfice, Sacraments, and all ecclesiasticall cerymonies: I know not what good thing they have lefte, besides a fewe bare woordes of Scripture, evil translated, and woorse applyed, which they reade there. Seinge therfore their service is such, it is a sufficient cause to make al Catholiques to avoyde it.

*THE Eyght Reason.*

The Eyght Reason of refusal which maye now be yielded, why a Catholyque maye not come to the Protestantes Churches,<sup>1</sup> is, because by going thither, he shal lose al the benefit of his owne religion, nether shal he take any more commoditie thereby, then if he were not of that religion at al. This is a very greate, wayghtie, and most sufficient reason to be yelded by Catholiques in Englande to their Princes for their refusal of comminge to Church, and such a one as beinge sufficiently conceyved by her Maiestie, cannot but satysfie her Highnes, and greatlye drawe her to compassion of the pyttifull case<sup>2</sup> of soe manye thousands of her lovinge subiectes, whoe beinge, as I have sayde Catholiques in hartes

<sup>1</sup> *Loosing the benefit of Catholique religion.*

<sup>2</sup> *A pityful necessitie.*

by goinge to Protestantes Churches, must needes bee brought ether to flat athisme, that is, to leave of all conscience, and to care for no religion at all, (as manye thousand seeme to be resolved to doe;) or els, to lyve in contynuall torment of mynde, and almoste desperation, considering that by their goinge to these Churches, they lose utterlye all use and practise of theyr owne religion, being helde as schismatiques, and excommunicate persons of the same: and their case such, that if they shoulde dye in the same state, they were sure to receave no parte of benefit of that religion no more then if they had bene protestantes. The which, what a danger it is, all true Christian men doe both knowe, and feare.

But yet, that the simpler sorte, maye better understande it, and the wyser, better consider of it: I wil in particuler repeate some of the abovesayde dommages.

First therefore a Catholique, by going to the Protestants Churches, looseth all participation of that blessed Sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> of the bodye and blood of oure Saviour, appoynted by the sayde Saviour (as I have shewed before) to be offered

<sup>1</sup> *The losse of partycipation of the Sacrifice how great a losse.*

up daylye in the oblation of the Masse, for the commodite of the whole worlde, quick and dead: and for that cause (as the godlye and learned, saynt John Chrisostome sayth.<sup>1</sup>) Called *the common Sacrifice of the whole world.* The which action of offering of this sacred Hoste, (the Sonne of God to his Father,) is of such dignitye, excellencie, and merit, not only to the Priest, but also to the standers by assisting him: as all the other good woorkes which a man can doe in his lyfe, are not to be compared with it, seeing that the verye Angels<sup>2</sup> of heaven doe come downe at that tyme, to adore (after the consecration) that sacred Bodye, and to offer the same up with us, to God the father for the whole world. As al the holy Fathers of the primative Church dyd bothe beleve and teach.<sup>3</sup> Of the which, it shalbe enough at this tyme, to aledge one or two. Saynt Gregorie therfore the first, saythe thus. *What faythfull man can doute but that in the verye houre of immolation or sacryfice, the heavens doe open at the Priestes voyce, and that the quires of Angels, be present there, in that misterie of Jesus Christ?*<sup>4</sup> And saynt Chrisos-

<sup>1</sup> *Chrys. hom. 47. in ep. 1. ad cor.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Angels present at the elevation.*

<sup>3</sup> *Gre. li. 4. di al. cap. 58.*

<sup>4</sup> *Chris. lib. 6. de sacerdo.*

tome, handeling the same, saythe. At that tyme, (the tyme of consecration in the Masse) *the Angels stande by the Priest, and the universall orders of the celestiall powers, doe crye out, and the place nygh to the awlter, is full of quires of Angels in the honour of him whoe is there sacrificsed.* And immediatlye after, he telleth two visions of holye men,<sup>1</sup> whose eyes were by the power of God (as he sayeth) opened, and they in those visions sawe the Angels presente at the time of consecration. And in an other place, he yet more at large erplycateth the same, sayinge.<sup>2</sup> *At that tyme deere brother* (at the time of consecration and elevation) *not onlye men do geve out that dreadful cry,* (saying, we adore the O Lord) etc. *but also the Angels doe bowe their knees to our Lord, and the Archangels doe beseche him: for they accounte that a fitt time,<sup>3</sup> having that sacred oblation in their favour. And therfor as men are wont to move Princes the more, yf they beare olive bowes in their handes: (because by bearinge that kinde of wood they bring into the Princes mindes mercye and gentlenes:)* so, *the Angels at that time, (houlding out in their*

<sup>1</sup> Two visions of the presence of Angels at the masse.

<sup>2</sup> Chry. ho. 3. cont. Ano.

<sup>3</sup> A fit Similitude of S. Chrisostome.

*hands, the very self same bodye of our Lord)*<sup>1</sup> *they doe entreate for al mankinde, as though they saide, We do entreate O Lord, for the men of the worlde, whom thou hast so looved, that for their salvation thou wast content to dye, and in the Crosse, to breathe out thyne owne soule. For these men we make supplication, for the which thou hast geeven thy owne bloud: for these men we pray, for the which thou hast sacrificed this bodye of thyne. If this be soe, then the hearinge of Masse, is not onelye worth the venturyng of an hundred Marckes,*<sup>2</sup> *or five monethes imprisonment, but also of an hundrede thousande lyves, if a man could loose everye one for that cause sixe tymes. And an hundred tymes miserable is that man, which for anye worldlye respecte doth depryve him selfe of soe greate a benefite, as the participation of this sacrifice is. Secondlye, they loose by goeyng to Church, the fruite and grace of sixe Sacramentes:*<sup>3</sup> *as the grace of Confirmation by the Bishoppe, whereby the Holye Ghoste was geeven in the Prymatyve Church, (as Saynte Luke sayeth)*<sup>4</sup> *and now in our tyme, as Saynte*

<sup>1</sup> *What playner testimony can there be then this.*

<sup>2</sup> *The hearinge of a Masse how well worthe a hundred markes.*

<sup>3</sup> *The losse of y<sup>e</sup> grace of 6. Sacraments what a losse.*

<sup>4</sup> *Act 8 and 19.*



Cypryan proveth, are bestowed upon us by the same, the seven gyftes of the holye Ghoste. Set out by Esaye the Prophet in his eleventhe chapter.<sup>1</sup> They loose also the grace of Priesthood, soe greatlye commended by S. Paul to Tymothy, <sup>2</sup> when he chargeth him soe earnestlye, not to neglect the sayd grace. Also the grace of Matrimony, which S. Paul soe much extolleth,<sup>3</sup> when he calleth this sacrament, a great sacrament. Also the grace of extreme Unction, which is soe great, as S. James sayeth,<sup>4</sup> besids the healing many times of the bodye, it also remitteth the sicke mans sinnes: And so in lyke manner the grace of the other two sacraments, of Penance, and the Aulter, whereof I wil say a word or two immediately. Al thes graces they loose, being cut of (by their going to the Protestants churches) from these sacraments, which are nothing else, but conduits of grace. The which losse, of what valew it is,<sup>5</sup> a man may gesse by that, which al devines with on accord doe prove, y<sup>e</sup> on droppe of grace is more worth, then al y<sup>e</sup> world esteemed in it selfe besids. Thirdly, they loose by going to church al the benifit of y<sup>e</sup> keies of the

<sup>1</sup> *Cypr. li. de. vnct. chris. Esa. 11.*

<sup>2</sup> *2 Timo. i.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ephes. v.*

<sup>4</sup> *Jaco. 5.*

<sup>5</sup> *The valew of grace.*

church,<sup>1</sup> or of the aucturity of binding and loosing of sinns, graunted by Christ to y<sup>e</sup> governours of the same Church. For the explication of the which, we must understand, that Christ having newlye made the mariage betweert his deere spouse and him selfe, (I meane the Church): and havinge now sealed the same, with his owne bloud: and being inforced to depart from the said new married spouse of his, towching his visible presence for a time: he devised how to shew unto her, how greatly he loved her, and to leave some notable pledge and testimony of his singuler great affection towards her. The which he finally resolved, could be by noe other meanes better expressed, then if he should leave al his aucthoritie with her, the which he had received of his Father, which makinge publyque proclamation to all the world, that *What so ever she should forgeve in earthe, towchyng sinne, the same should be forgeven in heaven:*<sup>2</sup> and *what soever sinne, the Church should retaine or not forgeve in earth the same should never be forgeven in heaven.*<sup>3</sup> And againe: *that with what authoritye God his Father sent him, with the same he sent her*

<sup>1</sup> *What the benefyte of the keyes of the Church is.*

<sup>2</sup> *Joan. 20.*

<sup>3</sup> *A proclamation of the tribunal for sinn in earth.*

*gouvernours, the Apostles, and theyr successors.*<sup>1</sup> And againe: *he that should not here and obey the Church, should be accounted as a heathen and publicane.*<sup>2</sup> By the which speeches of Christ,<sup>3</sup> our fore fathers have alwayes understoode, that Christe gave unto the Church a visible tribunal seate in earth, for the forgeving or retayning of sinnes, unto the which al Christians must resorte by submission and humble confession of their sinnes,<sup>4</sup> if they thinke ever to receave forgevenes of the same at Christes hys handes in heaven. For soc we read, that in the primative Church they confessed their sinnes unto the Apostels: of whom saynt Luke writeth thus. *Manye of the faythful came (to the Apostles) confessing and reveling their owne actes.*<sup>5</sup> And three hundred yeres after that, S. Austen testefieth of his time, saying. *Doe you suche penance, as is wont to be done in the Church, that the Church may praye for you.*<sup>6</sup> *Let no man saye, I doe it secretly, I doe it with God alone, God which hath to pardon me, knoweth wel how that I doe repent in my hart.*

<sup>1</sup> *Joan.* 6.<sup>2</sup> *Mat.* 18.<sup>3</sup> *Aug. ho.* 49 *ct.* 50. *and ho.* 41. *ibid.* *Cip. li.* 1. *ep.* 2.<sup>4</sup> *Amb. lib.* 1. *ca.* 2. *de Pae. and in psal.* 38. *Atha. serm. cont. her. Chris. lib.* 3 *de facer. Hil. in. ca.* 18. *Mat.*<sup>5</sup> *Hie. in cap* 18 *Mat. Actor.* 19.<sup>6</sup> *Aug. hom.* 41. 49. 50. *cap* 10. 11. 16. *ex* 5<sup>o</sup>. *hom.*

*What therefore, with out cause was it sayde (to the Priestes) that which you loose in earth, shal be loosed in heaven:<sup>1</sup> therefore in vayne were the keyes geven to the Church? And in an other place againe more neerlye touching the humour of our men now a dayes, he sayth.<sup>2</sup> There are some which thinke it sufficient for their salvation, if they doe confesse their sinnes only to God, to whom nothing is hidden, and to whom no mans conscience is unknown. For they will not, or els they are ashamed, or els they disdayne, to shew them selves unto the Priestes, whom not withstanding God (by Moyses his lawegeber) did apoint to discern or iudge betweene leprye, and leprye.<sup>3</sup> But I would not that thou shouldest be deceaved, with that opinion, in such sort, that thou shouldest ether by noughty shame, or obstinate disdayne, refrayn to confesse,<sup>4</sup> before the substitute, or Vicegerent of our Lord. For, whom our Lord did not disdayne to make his substitute, his iudgemente must thou be contente also to stande to. This benifit therefore of the keyes of the Church, and of receaving remission of their sinnes by the same, (which Catholickes doe thincke to be the greatest benifit of their re-*

<sup>1</sup> Joan. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. li. 2. de Visita. infir. Cap. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Leu. 13. 14.

<sup>4</sup> The necessity of Confession.

ligion) do they loose, that goe to the Protestants Churches, besids al the good instructions, wholesome counsels, and vertuous admonitions, which Catholickes doe receave in confession, at their ghostly fathers hands, then the which things, they finde nothinge more forcible to bring them to good lyfe: especially, if they frequente it often, as al zelous Catholickes in the worlde nowe doe.

Fourthlye, they loose the infinite benefite of receaving the blessed sacrament<sup>1</sup> of the aulter, (the pretious Body and Bloud of Christ) being the foode of our soules, and as Christ sayeth. *The bread that came downe from heven to geve lyfe unto the world:*<sup>2</sup> To the worthy eating of which heavenly bread, Christ promiseth infinite reward, saying.<sup>3</sup> He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud, hath lyfe everlasting, and I wil rayse him againe at the last day. And agayne:<sup>4</sup> He that eateth me, shal lyve through me. Upon which promises of Christ, our for-fathers of the Primative church, have alwayes most earnestly exhorted al men, to the often receavinge of this blessed sacrament, alleaging

<sup>1</sup> *The losse of not receaving the blessed Sacrament.*

<sup>2</sup> *Joan. 6.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>4</sup> *Vide Ciril. lib. 3. in Joan. cap. 37. Basil. ad. Cesar. patric. Amb. lib. 5. de Sacra. ca. 4. Chris. hom. 61. ad. pop. Antioch.*

innumerable commodities of y<sup>e</sup> same, and proving by experience, that the frequenting of this Sacrament, is the cheefeste meanes to come to al grace, zeale, feelinge, and lyfe in spiritual matters. And on the contrarye parte, that the abstayninge from the same, is the right way to al spiritual miserye, and for the soule of man to wyther away, drye up, and starve : even as the plant dothe, that lacketh moysture. The which we see nowe by experience, in manye a thousand, who for lacke of the foode, of this blessed Fountayne of grace, are as dead, in al spiritual cogitations, and deedes, as a starved stake in the hedge,<sup>1</sup> from bearing of flowers : and their myndes so overgrowen, with the rancke weedes of Carnalitye, that there is noe difference betwirte them, and a brute bullocke : for, as much the one foloweth his passions, as the other. Whereby we see, what a losse it is, to depryve them selves from the use of this Sacrament.

Fiftlye, they loose al the merit of their good deedes what soever.<sup>2</sup> For as S. Gregorie sayeth, *Even as, none receaved their peny in the Gospel, but they onely which had labored within*

<sup>1</sup> *The state of a carnal man.*

<sup>2</sup> *The losse of al merite for good workes. Mat. 20. Greg. li. 35. Mor. ca. 5.*

*the compasse of the Vineyarde: soe no man shal receave any reward, for any good deede of his, except he have donne it, within the unitye of the Church.* So that, if a man should doe never so many good deedes, geve never so manye almes,<sup>1</sup> nay, as S. Cyprian proveth if a man should suffer never so many thinges for Christ, yea death it selfe, yet if he were out of the unity of the Catholick Church, he shal have no rewarde therefore. And not onely this, but if a man be in anye mortal sinne<sup>2</sup> what soever, as long as he abyde in the same without repentance, and confession, al devines hould, that he looseth the rewarde of al his good deedes. And the reason is, because noe worke can be meritorious of it selfe, but onely by reson of the grace from whence it proceedeth: but by everye mortal sinne which a man committeth, he looseth grace, and much more by goeing out of the unitye of the Church. And therefore, in such men until they repente, there can be noe hope of anye reward for any good woorke which they shall doe.

*Sixthely*, they lose the benefit of Communion of Saintes,<sup>3</sup> which we protest to beleeve in our Creede. That is, they have no parte of

<sup>1</sup> *Cip. de sim. prel. Chri. ho. 11. ad. Ephes.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vi. D. Tho. 1. 2. and des DD. 15. qu. 119.*

<sup>3</sup> *The losse of the communion of Saintes.*

the Sacrifices, oblations, prayers, fastinges, almes, and other good woorks, done within the Catholique Church, which all other Catholiques have. Finallye, they being cut of, and devided from the unities of the other members,<sup>1</sup> they take parte of no influence, whiche commeth from the head to the bodye, that is, from Christ to the Churche: nomore, then a mans hande once cut of, doth take blood, norishment, spirit, or lyfe, from the arme, from which it is now separated, as most learnedly S. Austen dothe discourse.<sup>2</sup> Wherefore they must needes wither awaye, and make drye wood for hell fyre: and as good for them it were, in effect, to be of anye other relygion, as of that, whereof they take not one iote of commoditye. And to all these miseryes they are driven, onely by going to the protestants Churches.

<sup>1</sup> *Note this similitude.*

<sup>2</sup> *Aug. epist. 50. ad Boni facium.*



## VIII

### WILLIAM PRYNNE

[This remarkable man, a pamphleteer to the marrow of his bones, was born in 1600, and was by profession a barrister. For forty-two years he was a writer, during which time he is said by Oldys to have published 160 pamphlets, besides several large folios and quartos, a matter of forty volumes in all. Anthony à Wood reckoned that he must have composed at the rate of a sheet a day from the time he reached man's estate. His *Histriomastix* cost him his ears in 1634. In 1637 he was pilloried again, this time in the company of Bastwick and Burton, all of them having produced scurrilous pamphlets against the Church. Their punishment evoked an extraordinary amount of popular sympathy by the cruelty of the sentence and the courage and wit of the sufferers. Prynne was imprisoned for life in Jersey, but his party soon got the upper hand, and when the Long Parliament met in 1640 Prynne was released. He was malignantly active in the prosecution of Laud; but he opposed the King's trial, and was expelled from Parliament by Pride's Purge in 1648 and imprisoned. He continued to be a thorn in the Protector's side, and was in 1650 imprisoned for three years without a trial; he forced his way back into the House in 1659 and 1660, and asserted the rights of Charles II. with the greatest boldness,

claiming that writs should be issued in the King's name. In the discussions on the punishment of the Regicides he was one of their severest opponents, and did all he could do limit the Act of Indemnity. He ended his days in the confidence of Charles II., as Keeper of the Records, where the young Anthony à Wood found him receiving visitors with 'old-fashion compliments such as were used in the reign of James I.'

*From*

A LOOKING-GLASSE  
FOR ALL LORDLY PRELATES.

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THERE is nothing now more rife in the *mouthes* of many great domineering Lordly Prelates, then, that their Lordly Episcopall Jurisdiction, Pompe and Sovereignty, is of divine Institution, and that their Sacred Lordships, are undoubted, Sonnes, Successors, heires of Christ, and his Apostles. Which men might well enough believe, did not their lives and actions most apparently contradict these their ambitious windy words; But if men may judge of a *Tree* by the *fruits*, (as our Saviour concludes they may, Math. vii. 16) or of men's *true Fathers*, and *Pedigrees* by their works (as hee also resolves John viii. 44.) I hope these arrogant lofty Pre-

lates, will not be offended with me, if I make it apparent to them (and others) by their fruites and workes, that they are so farre from being the Sons of Successors of Christ and his Apostles, or of divine Institution, that, *they are of their Father the Divell (for his workes and lusts they doe)* the successors from the Jewish high Priests, who crucified our Saviour, Persecuted, silenced, imprisoned, excommunicated his Apostles, And so, of Diabolicall ordination, not Divine.

This I shall plainly and briefly demonstrate, in two distinct Paralllers. The first, betweene the Divell and Lordly Prelates. The second, betweene the Jewish high Priests and them.

*The 1. Parallel betweene the Divell and Lordly Prelates.*

I. First, the *Divell* (for his condition and quality) is an *Apostate Angell, who kept not his first estate and mansion, and abode not in the truth*, Jude vi., John viii. 44. Such are all Lordly Prelates and Bishops, both by their own exposition of Rev. ii. 1, 5, 6.<sup>1</sup> Where

<sup>1</sup> *William Bishop of Rochester his first Sermon before K. James at Hampton Court, Sept. 21, 1606. B. Downham his consecration Sermon and the defence thereof: with B. Bancroft's Sermon and others. B. Montague in his Appeale to Cesar B. White in Brabounce's Censure.*

they interpret, the *Apostate Angell of the Church of Ephesus*, to bee the Lord Bishop of that Church alledging this text as the principall Scripture, to prove their Hierarchie of Divine Institution; and by common experience: For as Lord Bishops are fallen from the pietie, holinesse, humility, poverty, zeale, meeknesse, laboriousnesse, heavenly mindednesse, charity, and equality with other Ministers, that was in the true Christian Bishops of the Primitive Church and now openly avow the Popish and Arminian Doctrine of *The Totall and Finall Apostacy of the Saints from grace*.<sup>1</sup> So most of them being made Lord Bishops, (to prove this doctrine of Apostacy true by their practise) fall away from the pietie, zeale, holinesse, meekenesse, diligence, frequency in preaching, and most other vertues which they had or used in verity or pretence, before they were made Bishops (in case they had any vertue or goodnesse in them before, of which too many of them were never guiltie,) and become farre worse Christians, farre greater Persecutors and enemies to God, his truth, his

<sup>1</sup> The Calvinists taught that the Predestinate could never fall from grace, while 'those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.' The Arminians, who were deeply opposed to Calvinism, held all the bishoprics and places of trust in the Church at this time, with Laud at their head.

people, and more unholy, covetous, lasie, vicious in their lives than ever they were before; as all histories and experience manifest, beyond all contradiction.

And how many of our present Lord Prelates are turned open Apostates from the established doctrine and discipline of this Church of England to Poperie, Arminianisme and Romish superstition, and all the zeale, the honesty, the piety and goodnesse they had or seemed onely to have before they were Lord Bishops, I leave to every mans experience to determine, some of the best of them being so strangely warped of late, that it made a great Popish learned Lord confesse openly at the Table this last summer, *That if ever hee altered his Relegion, hee would turne Puritan; for Puritans (saith hee) are constant to their owne Religion and Tenets, but the Bishops so fable and wavering with the times, that wee know not where to have them,* such Apostate Angels are they.

Secondly, *The Divell is an uncleane spirit, void of holinesse, full of all filthinesse and impiety, and is hardly cast out of those he once possesseth, Math. x. 1, 6, 12, 43. Mark i. 23, 26, 27, c. v. 2, 8, c. vii. 25. Luke iv. 33, 36, c. vi. 18. Acts viii. 7.* Such are most Lordly Prelates in all respects; witnesse their *uncleane, pro-*

*fane, voluptuous, impious, godlesse lives and actions in all ages.*<sup>1</sup> Of which all histories stincke and surfet; to omit the present filthinesse of many of them: And how hard they are to be cast out where once they get but footing, our owne histories and instant experience too well demonstrate.

This greate Red Dragon, (the Divell) stooede before the *Woman* (the Church) which was redde to be delivered of a man-childe, for to devoure her Childe (her spirituall regenerate Children) as soone as it was borne. *Rev. xii. 4, 5.* Thus those Lordly Prelates doe; No sooner can the Church be redde to be delivered of a man-childe, of a godly faithfull Pastor, new Minister, or zealous Christian, but these great redd scarlet Dragons, (who can suffer dumbe Dogges, deboist,<sup>2</sup> licentious, dissolute drunken, scandalous Ministers, and superstitious Popelings to sit still and doe what they list, without danger or countroll) are at hand (like *Pharoah*, and the divell) to devoure, silence, suppress, persecute, and destroy them as soone as they are borne, or beginne but once publiquely to appeare in the world; as experience too well

<sup>1</sup> *Balaeus and Platina de vitis Pontificum. Godwins catalogue of Bishops: The Acts of English Votaries by Bale Gentur. Mag. 4. to 13. c. 7. and 10.*

<sup>2</sup> Debauched.

testifieth in most places, where a godly Minister or Christian can no sooner shew his head or beginne to doe God faithfull service, but they presently lay trappes and snares to hamper, or send Apparitors, Pursevants, with such other Hellish Furies, to seize upon them, that so their Lordships may swallow them all up at a bit ; Yea if any good Booke shall beginne to peepe out against their tyranny, Prelacy, and Innovations, Howses, Shipps, Studdies, Trunks and Cabinets must be broken up and ransacked for them : Such ravenous redd Furies Dragons are they, and such open wide sepulchres are their devouring throates to swallow downe all things that any way make against them.

Hell and everlasting torments are prepared for the divell and his Angels, reserved now in chaines of darknesse unto the Iudgment of the great day, when they shall be all cast in to the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone for ever : *Math.* xxv. 41. *2 Pet.* ii. 4. *Iude* vi. *Revel.* xx. 20. So are they prepared likewise for all proud Lordly, persecuting,<sup>1</sup> *unpreaching*,

<sup>1</sup> *Oh that a man had but the view of hell ; (saith Father Latymer in his Sermons,) Hee should see on one side of it a row of unpreaching Prelates in their square caps as farre as betweene this and Dover, I warrant you, as farre as betweene this and Dover.*

*oppressing, tyrannizing Prelates*, who suppress the preaching and progresse of the Gospell, with the Preachers, Ministers, and Professors of it, and hate them to the death: And if there be any place or torments in Hell, hotter, deeper, greater, or more insupportable, horrid, and loathsome then other, Certainly that shall be reserved for these ungodly Lord Bishops and false Prophets; who shall have the same condemnation and torments inflicted on them as the divell himselfe shall undergoe. 1 *Tim.* iii. 6, 7. *Rev.* xx. 10. O that our proud persecuting Lording Prelates would now at last consider this, o that they would repent and amend in time before they fall downe headlong quick into Hell; Some of them (as their late actions manifest to all the world) being growne as insolent, as impudent, as desperate professed publique enemies to purity, piety, holynes the syncere preaching and Preachers of Gods word and power of Religion, as the very divell himselfe; and some of them (I feare) worse then any divells. For first all the divells beleeve Gods threats, word, Iudgments, and tremble at them, *James* ii. 19, but they (as their atheisticall, unjust, unconscionable, tyrannicall lives and actions proclayme to all men,) doe neither beleeve, nor tremble at them.



## IX

### JOHN BASTWICK

[Bastwick, a physician, was born in 1593, and died 1654. He got into prison in 1635 for a work entitled *Flagellum Pontificis*, and while in the Gatehouse he wrote the *Letany*, for which in 1637 he was sentenced with Prynne and Burton to a fine of £5000, the pillory, the loss of his ears, and imprisonment for life. Like Prynne, he was released by the Long Parliament. Like Prynne, too, he was a rigid Presbyterian, and wrote very bitterly against the Independents. Bastwick is almost unrivalled for scurrility and has a curious knack of using strange words, to illustrate which talent two short extracts are given at the end. We have also quoted two title pages of the *Letany* (for it is in four parts) to illustrate an art which is now unfortunately a lost one.]

*From*  
THE LETANY  
of  
John Bastwick,  
*Doctor of Physicke,*

Being now full of Devotion, as well in respect of the common calamities of plague and pestilence; as also of his owne particular miserie: lying at this instant in *Limbo Patrum*. Set downe in Two Letters to Mr *Aquila Wykes*, keeper of the Gatehouse, his good Angell.

In which

There is an universall challenge to the whole World,  
To prove the parity of Ministers, to be *jure divino*.

Also

A full demonstration, that the Bishops are neither Christs, nor the

Apostles Successors, but enemies of *Christ* and his *Kingdome*, and of the *Kings* most excellent *Majesties* prerogative *Royall*. All which hee undertaketh to make good before King and Counsell, with the hazard of otherwise being made a prey to their insatiable indignation.

*A Booke very usefull, and profitable for all good Christians To read, for the stirring up of devotion in them likewise.*

Proverb, chap. 25. vers. 2.

*It is the glory of God to conceale a thing, but the honour of the King is to search out a matter.*

Printed

By the speciall procurement, and for the especiall use of our English Prelats in the yeare of Remembrance, *Anno* 1637.

\* \* \* \* \*

I CANNOT deny but Dick Shorts petulancy and boldnesse exceedingly moved me, and whereas, he sent me word, that the pillars of our church supported him, *I replied that they were the caterpillars of the Church*, and so they are, *for they devour the Church of God, and eat up his people like bread*. And howsoever they glory in the name of Church, and stile themselves with that dignity, excluding all others from that title, by the name of laicks: yet I boldly averre, *they are so far from being the Church, as they are not so much as the rubbish of that glorious fabricke*: for they persecute, destroy, and ruine the true Church of Christ, and afflict and weary his members continually: and for that end, have their *sworne servants* through the kingdome, to give them information, against both Minister and people, that are of

a more godly and strict life, and that desire in the purity of his Ordinance, to serve y<sup>e</sup> Lord, I pray looke through all parishes, and you shall see (as I sayd) they have *their servants in them*: and such as they encourage by rewards, to informe against them, that feare the almighty, and set their faces, towards the heavenly Jerusalem.

The *sextin* and the *Church-wardens and Sidemen*, they are the *Prelats servants and slaves* principally and *ex officio*, and they first looke to the Minister, whether he bee a diligent observer of all the fopperyes of conformity;<sup>1</sup> and all additional *jackenaps trickes and Popish abominations, and profane fooleryes, the BISHOPS, by their Canons and articles impose upon him. And if he be fayling in the least, though it be without offence to any, or contempt, but out of meere conscience. Let him be never so holy, so learned, so diligent in his Cure: nay let him doe never so much good,*

<sup>1</sup> Such as ‘capping, ducking, standing, and kneeling,’ as he complains in another part of the *Letany*. But more obnoxious ritual was common at this time; for, besides the surplice, scarf and academic cap which were much disliked by the Puritans, copes and lighted candles were used, and we happen to know, from a list of Bishop Andrewes’ altar furniture which has come down to us, that he also used incense, wafer-bread, coloured altar-cloths and chalice-veils, &c.

both by his example and ministry, he *is ipso facto* throwne into a thousand perplexities; and tossed from one Court to another, till they have quite exhausted him, and then they turne him out, from house, and home, and send him abegging. Nay, which is yet to be taken notice of, if he be a diligent preacher, and a vigilant watchman, it is enough to ensnare him, and if they have no iust qarrel, they will faine articles against him, and *ex officio*, prosecute him and by vertue of their office they will pillage and rob his Study first (as they did by me) and take away all his papers and writings, to see if they can get any advantage against him out of them, and then upon one triviall occasion or other, or if he will not cut his owne throat by his answer, they forthwith suspend him saying he is refractory to authority and that he hath not answered fully enough, and after upon refusall of farther answer (which is the best declining of eminent misery and danger) they eiect him out of his living and honest employments,<sup>1</sup> pretending it was because of his contempt, when there was none. Againe on the other side, if he ioyne issue and the sute

<sup>1</sup> The persecution to which the puritans were subjected at this time was the principal cause in making young Richard Baxter go over to their side.

be brought to an hearing, the man depending upon the goodnes of his cause, and knowing the integrity of his owne heart. Then comes forth DOCTOR SATAN, *the accuser of the bretheren*, otherwise called the KINGS ADVOCATE, who appearing before *the renowned Metropoulitans, that poule<sup>1</sup> and share all Christs sheep*, and the other reverend *sheep-sharers*, he exceedingly with many invectives and contumelyes aggravates all the *fained articles* against him, whom he never knew nor saw before, and many times most affectionately urgeth, for want of soldier<sup>2</sup> grounds, the multiplicity of the Articles, when not withstanding they have made them all themselves, and in such a numerosity, that they might catch him in one or other of them, and it is easy with them to make a two or three hundred of them, *it is their trade to be traducers, that cursed occupation*. But this I acknowledge is principally done, both by the advocate, and Iudges, when they can prove nothing against him, and then indeed the advocate flyes to the *dressar* and desires that right *horrible board* to take into more serious consideration, that how soever there be no apparent proof of any of the

<sup>1</sup> Poll.<sup>2</sup> Solider.

articles against him, yet the number and multitude of the articles, do sufficiently argue he is a sublime puritan: and therefore it would be very dangerous, to the church, for such an one, to have any publick place in the ministry; upon which supposition he humbly entreats them to exercise the authority of the keyes, and to thrust out so dangerous and unprofitable a member. After them the *Prevaricator* hath done his part of speech: he leaveth the definitive sentence, to these grave, antient, and *musty Seniors*, who after they have well mumbled *him with the stumps of their old taunts reviling reproches, and with language no way beseeeming gravity, nor Christs successors*: after I say they have wearied him *as a poore lamb among a company of wolves, then* imposing upon one shoulder a great bag of round costs and upon the other a good fine to pay them all well, then in mere conscience they thrust him out of the *Synagouge* and make him goe seeke his Living in some other Country. And *of these passages we have dayly experience*. And by such wicked inventions as these, *they have rooted out and undone, almost all, the faithfull, pious and diligent Ministers in the kingdome, and such as made conscience*

of their actions, and that did carefully instruct the people in the wayes of God, both publicly and privately, and stirred up others by life and doctrine so to doe, and to all this their wickednes, they raile against them to Kings and Nobles.

And in those good *Pastors* and ministers places—they have installed, foysted in and put **PRIESTS SECUNDUM ORDINEM DIABOLI** for the must part, *such a generation of vipers of proud ungratefull idle wicked and illiterate asses,*<sup>1</sup> *and such profane scornes of all piety and goodnes, and so beastly lascivious, and lecherous, as no prety wench can keepe her honesty for them, and men of such conversation for the generality of them as they are not fit for civill society, and fellowes so treacherous and perfideous, as no man can be secure in their company, and to speake the truth spyes in the families of all the Nobility and gentry where they reade prayers to give Intelligence against them; withall, so braul-*

<sup>1</sup> Bastwick had some justification for writing thus. There were a good many drunken and immoral clergymen in the country; and in some places the Puritans alone kept religion alive. But the Laudian clergy whom he hated were good and zealous men: the bad clergy were men of no principles, who had been admitted because of the dearth of priests.

ing and contentious, as upon every petty occasion, they sue their parishioners in one Court or other; especially, if they be honest men, they then trounce them in their *spirituall Courts* to death, and this to drill them up in the law. As for the Gospell and preaching, they never knew what it was, nor never loved it, as by their lives and maners is evidently manifest. *For they will doe any thing, and be of any religion for living and gaine: they looke not, what God commands or forbids: for they are pretily ignorant of that, but what the Bishops, and the times require and inioyne and such as these would the Prelats have every where which are fittest for their devillish purposes.*

If God sayes, *Six days thou shalt labour and doe all that thou hast to do, but the Seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt do no maner of worke &c.* If the Prelats say to the contrary, and affirme that that commandement is now abrogated, and all though it were not, yet onely the laborious works of their ordinary calling are forbidden, *and not recreations, and corporall exercises of pleasure:*<sup>1</sup> and therefore command and bid

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Sports* permitted the use of lawful recreations on Sunday after Church time. Dancing,



their Priests, to publish this to the people, that they may know their liberty, *for the profanation of the Lords day*, and the shamefull breaking of this divine precept, *those Master Sir Johns*, will incontinently doe it. *Yea if it were to teach them, to breake all Gods commandements at once*, and to cast away and abandon all piety and goodnes they are fit for this purpose. *If it bring gaine they will doe any thing, be it never so wicked*: for it is their calling. If God sayes, *thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image or the likenes of any thing that is in Heaven above or in the earth beneath, thou shalt not bow downe to it nor worship it, &c.*, If the Prelats say, notwithstanding, I will have you make you *an Altar, and worship and fall downe to it*,<sup>1</sup> or at least *to worship the Communion table, or a peece of bread*, and make the people doe so too. They then are for these imployments likewise. If saint Paul and the other Apostles

archery, maypoles, leaping were declared 'lawful,' but bear-baiting, bowling, and interludes were declared unlawful; and only those who had been to church were allowed to join in the sports. The *Book* was issued by James I., in 1618; but Charles reissued it in 1633, and enforced the reading of it in Churches. The Long Parliament ordered all copies of it to be burnt.

<sup>1</sup> Laud enforced the practice, enjoined by the Canons of 1604, of bowing to the altar.

give Timothy and Titus, and all other Ministers a strict charge, to *preach the word in season and out of season*, and inioyne them, *as they love the Lord Jesus Christ, and will answer it at his glorious appearing, that they diligently feed their flocks, &c.* If the *Prelats* say to the contrary, and *bid away with these preachments*, there is too much of them already. They will most devoutly and dextrously obey it, and *never preach at all*: or if at any time they breake silence, it were better they held their peace, *so full of ignorance, vanity and superstition their discourses are stuffed withall*, as it brings a nauciousnes to the hearers. And all this you know to be true. I pray what thinke you now of your *great Masters*? Tell mee in good sooth, *do you thinke your Prelats are the Church of God, and those holy Fathers you thought they were?*

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

The Answer

of

John Bastwick,

*Doctor of Phisicke,*

To the exceptions made against his

Letany by A learned Gentleman,

*which is*

Annexed to the Letany it selfe, as Articles super additionall against the

*Prelats.*

*In the which there is, A full, demonstration and proof of the Reall Absence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper,*

*which the vanity and impiety of the Consecration of  
Temples Churches and Chapples.*

Also

The necessity of the perpetuall motion and circulation  
of worship if men be bound to bow the knees  
at the name of *Jesus*.

This is to follow the Letany as A second part thereof.

Printed

In the yeare of Remembrance, *Anno* 1637.

‘They<sup>1</sup> are exorbitantly luxurious, temulent,<sup>2</sup>  
inordinatly proud, and excessively ingerdious and  
exacting : and of such deboshedness<sup>3</sup> of lives and  
maners, and so brutish and unnaturall, as the very  
sinnes of Sodome and the Old World are revived  
againē amongst them. Ebriety, venery, fullnes of  
bread, and idleness are the least sins of that  
convocation and accounted among them but  
peccadiglios, yea a theame and matter of ludibry:<sup>4</sup>  
Greater cruelty, extortion, rapine, robbery and  
bribery (to say nothing of devillary, atheisme and  
popery), I know no where.

‘For the Church is now as full of ceremonyes  
as a Dog is full of fleas. At the entrance, in the  
middle at the going out every where one meets  
with ceremonyes. . . . To speak the truth, such a  
multitude of trumperyes and grollish ceremonyes  
are brought in by the Prelats, as all the substance  
of religion is thrust out, I meane true godlinesse,  
piety and charity, all which they have excluded  
and overthrowne with their baggatelle inventions.’

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishops’ officers.

<sup>2</sup> Drunk.

<sup>3</sup> Debauchedness.

<sup>4</sup> Mockery.

## X

### RICHARD BAXTER

[Baxter (1615-1691), the author of the *Saint's Rest*, and founder of popular religious literature in the modern sense, was born in Shropshire, where the clergy were miserably inefficient and largely dissolute. In 1640 he was curate at Bridgnorth, and in 1641 began his great work at Kidderminster, which from being a very ungodly place became a wonderful centre of piety and fervour. Here he remained through the civil war, where he acted as chaplain to one of Cromwell's regiments, and did not leave it finally till 1660, when he came to London. He had a considerable share in bringing back Charles II., and preached at St Margaret's, Westminster, before the House of Commons on the day before Parliament voted the Restoration. He refused the offer of the Bishopric of Hereford, and after taking part in the abortive Savoy Conference, he gave up his ministry in the Church of England on the passing of the Act of Uniformity 1662, though he always held his orders to be indefeasible, and continued to communicate in his Parish Church. He was imprisoned by Judge Jeffries in 1684 for a year and a half, but was treated well while in prison. He continued to work hard at his writing, and occasionally preached as opportunity offered, living a quiet and holy life, as a 'nonconformist minister but a conformist parishioner.'

His literary activity was enormous ; over 160 treatises are said to have come from his pen, many

of them large volumes, and many pamphlets, tracts and "sheets." Everything he wrote found a ready sale, and since he died there has never been a time when something of his was not in print; nor has there been any difference of opinion as to the purity and beauty of his style, and the depth of his religion. But in spite of his popularity he stood very much alone and did not belong to any of the political and religious parties, active though he was in both spheres. He was strongly opposed to the Independents, nor can he be correctly described as a Presbyterian, merely because he believed that Presbyterian orders were valid. He was a non-conformist, in the true and logical sense of the word, a Churchman (a "Catholic" as he often described himself on his title-pages) who could not conform to the use of the cross in baptism, and other points, and desired the further amendment of the liturgy. As the *Sheet for the Ministry* shows, he held firmly to an authorised ministry; defending that of the Commonwealth, in a companion tract, the *Second Sheet*, on the ground that it was mainly composed either of men episcopally ordained like himself or of those who had received Presbyterian orders.]

ONE SHEET FOR THE MINISTRY,  
Against the Malignants of all Sorts.

1657.

As man's first felicity was attended with the malice of the Serpent, so is the wonderful work of his Restoration. The promise of Reconciliation by the seed of the woman, is joyned with a proclamation of open War with the

Serpent and his seed. The enmity was hottest in the Devil and his seed against Christ himself, who bare and overcame it, and is become the Captain of our Salvation, that his Church may overcome by his Cross, and Strength, and Conduct; The next degree of malice is against his Officers: the most eminent, the General Officers had the hottest assault: and his ordinary Officers bear the next: That we shall be hated of all men for the Name of Christ (*Mat. x. 22*) is still verified to our experience. Not only the openly prophane abhor us for our work-sake, but half-hearted professors that turn from the truth, do presently turn Malignants against the Ministry; and many weak ones that are better minded, are dangerously seduced into a guilt of the sedition. To all these I here proclaim in the name and word of the Lord, *Numb. xvi. 26.* [*Depart I pray you from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins.*] Which I shall now open to you.

1. The office of the Ministry is an undoubted Ordinance of God, to continue in the Church to the end of the world. No man can pretend that they ceased with the Apostles; for it is Gods will that ordinary fixed Presbyters shall

be ordained in every Church, *Acts* xiv. 23. *Tit.* i. 5. 1 *Tim.* iii. 1. 2 *Tim.* ii. 2. And Pastors and Teachers are appointed for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, and edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come to a perfect man, *Ephes.* iv. 11, 12, 13. A Ministry authorized to Disciple the Nations, baptize and teach them, is instituted by Christ as King and Saviour, and have his Promise to be with them alway to the end of the world, *Matth.* xxviii. 18, 19, 20. The same necessity and work continueth; still souls are born and bred in darkness; and how shall they be saved without believing, or believe without hearing, or hear without preaching, or we preach without sending? *Rom.* x. 13, 14, 15. There is a clearer word in the Gospel for the Ministry than the Magistracy; though enough for both. Our own call I shall speak of anon.

2. These Malignants<sup>1</sup> set themselves against the Principal members of the Body of Christ, that are in it as the eyes and hands to the natural body, 1 *Cor.* xii. 16, 19, 27, 29.

<sup>1</sup> The word *Malignants* was first used by the Parliament of Charles I.'s evil advisers; then it came to mean all who sided with the King against the Parliament. But here Baxter uses it to describe those sects that were against the ministry established under the Commonwealth, such as "Quakers, Seekers, Papists," and Anabaptists.

*Ephes.* iv. 11, 15. The Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the mysteries of God, 1 *Cor.* iv. 1. The Overseers of the flock that is purchased with Christs blood, *Acts* xx. 28. They are the chief members, 1. in Office; 2. Ordinarily in gifts for edification of the body: 3. And in Grace. Now a wound in the stomach or liver is more mortal to the body, than in the hand: and the loss of an eye or hand is worse than the loss of an ear.

3. These Malignants are therefore principally enemies to the Church it self. They take on them to be only against the Ministers, but it will prove most against the people and whole Church. If they smite the Shepherds, the sheep will be scattered. How can they more surely ruin Christs Family, than by casting out the Stewards that must Rule, and give the children their meat in due season, even milk to the babes, and stronger meat to them of full age, *Heb.* v. 12, 13, 14, *Luke* xii. 42. *Mat.* xxiv. 45. What readier way to ruine the Schools of Christ, than by casting out the Teachers that he hath appointed under him? Or to ruine his Kingdom, then to reject his Officers? Or to wrong the body, then to cut off the hands, and pull out the eyes, or to destroy the principal parts: Was it not Ministers that planted the



Churches, and converted the world, and have ever born off the assaults of enemies? Where was there ever Church on earth that continued without a Minister? The great Kingdom of *Nubia* fell from Christianity for want of Preachers. The Nations that have the weakest and fewest Ministers, have the least of Christianity: and those that have the most and ablest Ministers, have the most flourishing state of Religion. All over the world the church doth rise or fall with the Ministry: Cut down the Pillars, and the building falls. He is blind that sees not what would become of the Church, were it not for the Ministry. Who should teach the ignorant, or rebuke the obstinate, explain the word of truth, and stop the mouths of proud gain-sayers? What work would heresies, and division, and prophanness make, if these banks were cut down? When all that can be done is still too little. It must needs therefore be meet enmity against the Church that makes men malignant against the Ministry.

4. The design of the maligners of the Ministry is plainly against the Gospel and Christianity it self. They take the readiest way in the world to bring in Heathenism, Infidelity and Atheism, which Christianity hath so far bandished. For it is the Ministry that Christ useth to bring in

light, and drive and keep out this damnable darkness, *Acts* xxvi. 17, 18. [*I send thee to open their eyes and turn them from darkness to light, &c.*] Why are so many Nations Infidels, Mahometans and Idolaters, but for want of Ministers to preach the Gospel to them? These Malignants therefore would take down the Sun and banish Christianity out of the world.

5. And they hinder the conversion of particular souls, and so are the cruellest wretches on earth. Though an Angel must be sent to *Cornelius*, it is not to be instead of a Preacher, but to send him to a Preacher, *Acts* x. Though Christ would wonderfully appear to *Saul*, it is to send him to *Ananias* for instruction, *Acts* ix. Though the Jaylor must feel an Earth-quake, and see miracles, it is but to prepare him for the Ministers words, *Acts* xvi. *Philip* must be carried by an Angel to expound to an Eunuch the word that must convert him. The Ministry is Gods instituted settled way, by which he will convert and save the world, as truly as the light is the natural way by which he will corporally enlighten them, *Acts* ii. 18. *1 Tim.* iv. 16. *Matth.* v. 14. *Rom.* x. 14. Do you think so many souls would be converted if the Ministry were down? Do you not see that the very contempt of

them, that the scorns of the ungodly, and opposition of Malignant Apostates have occasioned, doth hinder most of the ignorant and prophane from receiving the saving benefit of the Gospel? How many millions of souls would these wretches sweep away to hell, if they had their will? While thousands are in damnation for want of the lights, they would take it from you, that you might go there also. Do you not understand the meaning of these words against Christs Ministers? Why the meaning is this: They make a motion to the people of the Lord, to go to Hell with one consent, and to hate those that are appointed to keep them out of it. They would take the bread of life from your mouthes. They are attempting an hundred times more cruelty on you, then Herod on the Jews when he killed the children, or the Irish that murdered the Protestants by thousands; as the soul is of greater worth then the body.

6. The Malignants against the Ministry are the flat enemies of Christ himself, and so he will take them and use them. He that would root out the inferiour Magistrates, is an enemy to the Sovereign; and he that is against the Officers of the Army, is an enemy to the General: Christ never intended to stay

visibly on earth, and to Teach and Rule the world immediately in person; but he that is the King will Rule by his Officers; and he that is Prophet will Teach us by his Officers; and therefore he hath plainly told us [*He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* Luke x. 16.] O fearful case of miserable Malignants! Durst thou despise the Lord thy Maker and Redeemer, if he appeared to thee in his glory! to whom the Sun it self is as darkness, and all the world as dust and nothing. Remember when thou next speaketh against his Officers, or hearest others speak against them, that their words are spoken against the face of Christ, and of the Father. I would not be found in the case of one of these Malignants, when Christ shall come to judge his enemies, for a thousand worlds. He that hath said, [*Touch not mine annointed, and do my Prophets no harm; and hath rebuked Kings for their sakes,* Psalm cv. 15.] Will *divide* all those that would *break his bands*, and will *break them as with a rod of iron and dash them in pieces as a potters vessel.* Psalm ii. iii. iv. ix. And as he hath told them plainly, [*who so despiseth the Word shall be destroyed,* Prov. xiii. 13.] And [*He that*

*despiseth, despiseth not man but God*, 1 Thes. iv. 8.] So he that told us that *it shall be easier for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, then for such*, Mat. x. 15. Many a thousand prouder enemies then you hath Christ broken, and look to your selves, for your day is coming. If you had but *stumbled on this stone, it would have broken you in pieces*; but seeing you will strive against it, it will *fall on you, and grinde you to powder*, Matth. xx. 44. And then you shall see that he hath made them his Embassadors, will bear them out, and say, [*In as much as you did it to those, you did it to me.*] And you shall then say, *Blessed are they that trust in him.*

7. It is apparent that these enemies of the Ministers, are playing the Papists game. Because the just disgrace of *their* Ministry, was the ruin of *their* Kingdom; and therefore they hope to win of *us* at the same game. They know that if the people were brought into a hatred or suspicion of their guides, they might the easier be won to them. They tell us in their writings, that not one of ten of our people but taketh his faith on trust from their Teachers; and therefore take them off from them, and they will fall: but they delude themselves in this: For though the ungodly among

us have no true faith of their own, and the godly must lean on the hand of their supporters, yet there is in them a living principle ; and we do not as the Papist priests, teach our people to see with our eyes, and no matter for their own : but we help to clear their own eye-sight. Doubt not but the most of the sects in the Land that rail against the Ministry, are knowingly or ignorantly the Agents of the Papists. For the principal work of a Papist is to cry down the Ministry, and the Scripture, and to set all they can on the same work.

8. These sects that are against the Ministry do all the same work as the Drunkards, Whoremongers, Covetous, and all ungodly persons in our Parish do : And therefore it seems they are guided by the same spirit. It is the work of Drunkards and all these wicked wretches to hate, and despise, and revile the Ministers, and to teach others to say as they. And just so do Quakers, Seekers, Papists and all other Malignants reproach the same Ministers : And yet the blind wretches will not see the same Spirit moveth them.

9. It is apparent that it is the Devils game they play, and his interest and Kingdom which they promote. Who fights against Christs Officers and Army, but the General of the

contrary Army? What greater Service could all the World do for the Devil then to cast out the Ministers of Christ? And what more would the Devil himself desire, to set up his Kingdom and suppress the Church? Wretches! you shall shortly see your master, and he shall pay you your wages contrary to your expectation. Read Gods Word to a Malignant, *Acts* xiii. 10.<sup>1</sup>

10. These enemies do reproach as faithful a Ministry as the world enjoyeth, and their malice hath so little footing, as that the result must be their own shame. Among the Papists indeed there are Mass-priests that can but read a Mass, whose office is to turn a piece of bread into a God; And yet these the Malignants either let alone, or liken us to them. The Greeks, and Ethiopians, and most of the Christian world, would have a Ministry that seldom or never preach to them, but read Common-prayer and Homilies. The most of Protestant Churches have a learned Ministry that is so taken up with Controversies; that they are much less in the powerful preaching and practice of godliness: Above all Nations under heaven, the English are set upon Practical

<sup>1</sup> St Paul's words to Elymas the Sorcerer,—“O full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the devil, &c.”

Divinity and Holiness; and yet even they are by Malignity chosen out for reproach. Alas, scandals in the Ministry, (as drunkenness, swearing, &c.) among other Nations are but too common: but in *England* Magistrates and Ministers combine against them. Ministers are still spurring on the Magistrates to cast out the insufficient, negligent and scandalous; and desire and use more severity with men of their own profession, then with Magistrates or any others in the Land. In nothing are they more zealous then to sweep out all the remnant of the scandalous. And for themselves, they are devoted to the work of the Lord, and think nothing too much that they are able to perform, but preach in season and out of season, with all long-suffering and doctrine; and yet Malignants make them their reproach.

11. It is abundance of Pride and Impudency, that these Malignant enemies are guilty of. They are most of them persons of lamentable ignorance; and yet they dare revile at the Teachers, and think themselves wise enough to rebuke and teach them: Many of them are men of wicked lives; and yet they can tell the world how bad the ministers are. A Railer, a Drunkard, a Covetous Worlding, an Ignorant Sott, is the likest person to fall upon the



Minister; and the Owl will call the Lark a night-bird. Alas, when we come to try them, what dark wretches do we find them! and should be glad if they were but teachable. And yet they have learnt the Devils first lesson, to despise their Teachers.

12. And O what barbarous ingratitude are these Malignant enemies of the Ministry guilty of! For whom do we watch, but for them and others? Can they be so blind as to think a painful Minister doth make it his design to seek himself, or to look after great matters in the world? Would not the time, and labour, and cost that they are at in the Schools and Universities have fitted them for a more gainful trade? Do not Lawyers, Physicians, &c., live a far easier, and in the world a more honourable plentiful life? Have not the Ministers themselves been the principal Instruments of taking down Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Prebends, and all means of preferment? And what have they got by it? or ever endeavoured? Speak malice, and spare not. Is it any thing but what they had before? even the maintenance due to their particular charge. Unthankful wretches! It is for your sakes and souls that they study, and pray, and watch, and fast, and exhort, and

labour, to the consuming of their strength ; and when they have done, are made the Drunkards song, and the scorn of all the wicked of the Countrey ; and when they spend and are spent, the more they love, the less they are beloved. In the times of this greatest prosperity of the Church, they live under constant hatred and scorn, from those that they would save, and will not let alone in sin. And what do they endure all this for but Gods honour and your salvation ? Would we be Ministers for any lower ends ? Let shame from God and man be on the face of such a Minister ! I profess, were it not for the belief of the greatness and necessity, and excellency of the truths that I am to preach, and for the will of God and the good of souls, I would be a Plow-man, or the meanest Trade, if not a Sweep-Chimney, rather than a Minister. Must we break our health, and lay by all our worldly interest, for *you*, even for *you*, and think not our lives and labours too good or too dear to further your salvation, and must we by *you*, even by *you*, be reproached after all ? God will be judge between you and us, whether this be not inhumane ingratitude, and whether we deserve it at your hands.

## XI

### GEORGE FOX

[The founder of the Society of Friends was born 1624. He felt a special call in 1643, and shortly afterwards began to form his Society, whose members were first called Quakers in 1650. He spent his life in itinerant preaching; after visiting nearly every corner of England, as well as Holland and America, and suffering imprisonment eight times, he died in 1691. He soon saw the importance of pamphlet writing, and wrote many himself, his followers being the most prolific and earnest, not to say violent, of pamphleteers. It is hardly necessary to point out the great significance of the Quaker protest against the formalism and bibliolatry of the seventeenth Century. The tract here given is chosen for its insistence on the central Quaker doctrine of the sufficiency of the light within—a kind of sublime anarchism, which led by reaction into the depreciation of “enthusiasm” in the next century (pp. 273, 292). We find Law lamenting at the beginning of that utilitarian age that “even the most worthy and pious among the clergy of the Established Church are afraid to assert the sufficiency of the Divine Light, because the Quakers, who have broken off from the Church have made this doctrine their corner-stone.” If Fox had been able to reform the Church from within, the history of the Hanoverian age might

have been very different to what it was. The tract *Concerning the Rule* is taken from a series *Concerning Revelation, Prophecy, Measure and the Rule, and the Inspiration and sufficiency of the Spirit*, published in 1676.]

### CONCERNING THE RULE

Now mark you Professors of the Letters, that say, *The Scripture is your Rule*; Was not Circumcision of the Letter of the Scripture? and yet the Apostle saith, *It avails nothing, but a New Creature*: and that which the Apostle rejoiced in, was the Cross of Christ, in which he was crucified to the World, and the World to him. And is not the Cross of Christ the Power of God? And as many as walk according to this Rule, and rejoyce in it (to wit) the Cross of Christ, and the New Creature? I say, as many as walk according to this Rule, Peace be upon them, and Mercy, and upon the *Israel* of God. For the Apostle saith, *The Cross of Christ is the Power of God*; so that the Rule of the New Creature in Christ he sets forth to be the Rule. And you that have the Form of Godliness, and deny the Power thereof, and the having the Spirit that gave it forth now in your days, and call it your

*Rule*, and yet walk quite contrary to it, are to be turned away from; yet not turn away from the Scriptures, but from you, that walk contrary to them, and the Spirit that gave them forth.

And the Apostle saith in *Phil.* iii. 16. *Nevertheless in that whereunto we are come, let us proceed by one Rule, that we may mind one thing;* for he had told them with Weeping of such as were Enemies to the Cross of Christ, whose End is Damnation, whose God is their Belly, and glory in their Shame, who mind earthly things.

Now were not they Enemies to the Rule then, which was the Cross of Christ, the Power of God? And what was this Rule they were to walk by? Was it not that which God had distributed to them, the Spirit of God? For these, whose Belly was their God, and gloried in their Shame, and minded earthly things, whose End was Damnation; these were a kind of *Christians*, which its to be feared there is too many such now, which were Enemies to the Cross of Christ, which is the Power of God, which were to be turned away from: And was not the Grace of God, which God said should be sufficient for *Paul*, and his Strength made perfect in

his Weakness; was not this Grace and Strength a sufficient Rule for *Paul*?

And doth not the Apostle say, *Let Christ Rule in your Hearts by Faith, who shall rule all Nations with a Rod of Iron?* So is not he a sufficient Rule in the Heart by Faith, and a sufficient Rule to rule all Nations, *Rev. xii. 5*, yea, and sufficient to rule the Heathen, *Rev. xix. 15*?

And doth not Christ say, *I will send you the Spirit of Truth, which shall lead you into all Truth, and bring to your Remembrance the Words I have spoken unto you?*

Is not this Spirit a sufficient Rule, that leads into all Truth?

And in *Neh. ix.* The Lord gave his good Spirit to the People, *his good Spirit to instruct them, and they rebelled against it.*

And were not they reprov'd for so doing? and was not that a sufficient Rule? and are not they the Sons of God that are led by the Spirit of God? and is not that a sufficient Rule to lead and guide?

And the Lord saith, *He that hath the Son, hath Life.*

And is not here a sufficient Rule?

And *John* said, *These things I have written unto you, concerning them that deceive you; but*

*the Anointing which you have received of him, dwelleth in you; and you need not that any man teach you, but as the same Anointing teacheth you of all things, and is true, and is no Lye.*

And is not this a sufficient Rule, this Teacher, that people might see the Deceivers, and shun them?

And the Lord saith, *I will put my Laws in your Minds, and write them in your Hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people; and they shall not teach every man his Neighbour and every man his Brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all shall know me from the least of them to the greatest of them:* and is not this Law and New Covenant a sufficient Rule to know God by? And was not the Holy Ghost a sufficient Rule, that led *Moses* and the Prophets to give forth the Scriptures? And was not the Holy Ghost a sufficient Rule that led the Disciples and Apostles of Jesus Christ into all Truth, and see the fulfilling of the Law and Prophets in Christ, and brought to their Memories the Words that Christ spoke, and afterwards to record them? and is not the same Holy Ghost a sufficient Rule for all *Christians* now to know God, and Christ, and the Scriptures, and lead them all into the Truth of

them; in which Holy Ghost they must pray in, and have their Fellowship, seeing no man knows the things of God without the Spirit of God, which searcheth all things, and they are spiritually discerned, and the natural man perceives them not, they are Foolishness to him; and how can they be his Rule, when they are Foolishness to him, as in 1 *Cor.* ii.

And what Rule had *Abel*, and *Enoch*, and *Noah*, and *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, before Scriptures were given forth? did not they walk by Faith, which was the Gift of God, yea, and to be perfect? was not *Abraham* commanded to walk before him; and be perfect, which Perfection you cannot attain unto by your Rule, the Letter, and walking in the oldness of the Letter; for you must serve God in the Newness of Life, and not in the Oldness of the Letter, *Rom.* vii. 6. *For the Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life*, 2 *Cor.* iii. 6. And also, was not that Faith a sufficient Rule for all the Old Fathers to walk by? and must not we walk in the steps of the Faith of our Father *Abraham*, *Rom.* iv. 12.

And the Apostle saith, *But he is a Jew who is one within, and the Circumcision is of the Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the*



*Letter, whose Praise is not of men, but of God.*

So, is not he a *Christian* who is one within, in the Heart (and not the Letter) whose Praise is of God, and not of men, seeing that many may have the Form of Godliness, but deny the Power thereof, which are to be turned away from: And may not such say they are *Christians*, as the *Jews* said they were *Jews*, and were not, but the Synagogue of Satan?

And the Apostle said, *Henceforth know we no man after the Flesh, yea, though we have known Christ after the Flesh, yet henceforth know we him so no more*, 2 Cor. v. 16.

And their Fellowship stood in the Spirit, and they were to know Christ and one another in the Spirit, and to keep the Unity of the Spirit, which is the Bond of Peace, yea, even of the Prince of Princes Peace: but they that deny the having of that Spirit the Apostles were in, know not Christ, nor the Fellowship of the Saints, nor the Prince of Princes Peace.

And the Apostle saith in *Rom. xv. 18.*, *For I dare not speak of anything which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient by Word and Deed.* Now mark,

did not he keep to the Measure of the Rule which Christ had wrought in him ?

Now, come all ye Priests and Professors in *Christendom*, and try your selves by the Scriptures, which you say is your Rule ; how dare you speak any thing, to make People obedient in Word and Deed, that Christ hath not wrought in you or by you ? Are not you boasting of other men's Lines and Labours, that other men have made ready for your Hands ? Do not you want the Fear of God in your Hearts, as was in the Apostles, who durst not speak any thing but what Christ had wrought by them to make People obedient by Word and Deed ? Ought not the Apostle here to be your Example ? and then Christ would have the Glory of that which he works by you in People and in you, and your own Wills would be laid in the dust. And therefore, is not all that which you speak to people, that which Christ hath not wrought in you and by you, like the False Prophets, using your Tongues, and the False Apostles boast of other mens Lines.

And the Apostle saith in *Romans* iii. 24. *And we are justified freely by his Grace, through the Redemptioun that is in Christ Jesus.*

And in *Romans* iv. 12, 16. *But unto them also that walk in the steps of the Faith of our Father Abraham.* And is not this a Rule sufficient?

And in *Romans* viii. 1, 2. *Now there is no Condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit; for the Law of the Spirit of Life, which is in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the Law of Sin and Death.*

Now, is not this Spirit a sufficient Rule to walk by? But you that say it is not the Rule, do not you remain under Condemnation, under the Law of Sin and Death, pleading for it, and not for Freedom by the Law of the Spirit in Christ on this side the Grave.

And further, the Apostle saith, *But if ye Mortifie the Deeds of the Flesh by the Spirit, ye shall live.* Therefore is not this Spirit a sufficient Rule to walk by?

And in 2 *Cor.* v. the Apostle saith, *For we walk by Faith, and not by Sight.* [Mark, not by Sight]. The Church was not to walk by Sight, but by Faith, which Christ is the Author of; and is not this sufficient? And who walk by Faith, they walk in the Steps of the Faith of our Father *Abraham*, his Faith, which was before Scriptures were written? and is not this

a sufficient Rule for all the faithful, which is testified of in the Scripture, and was before Scripture was written ; and which Scripture is to be believed, and fulfilled, and practised, &c.

And *Ephes. ii. 8.* *By Grace are ye saved, through Faith, and not of your selves, it is the Gift of God.* So is not that sufficient to walk by, which saves ?

And in *1 John i. 7.* *If we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanses us from all Sin.*

So is not this Light sufficient to preserve the Fellowship, by walking in it? and is there any Cleansing from all Sin by the Blood of Jesus Christ, but first they must walk in the Light? There may be a talking of the Blood of Christ, and pleading for the Body of Sin and Death, and Imperfections to the Grave; so that only talking of the Blood of Christ will do them little good, and pleading for their Body of Sin and Death, and Imperfections to the Grave; that there they may be all buried in the Pit together, where there is no Repentance in the Grave, and give a man Ten or Twenty Shillings to preach them a Funeral Sermon: And as it is in *Hebr. ix. 27.* *It is appointed unto all*

*men, that they should once dye, and after that come to Judgment.* And therefore consider and mark this, and quench not the Spirit which God hath given you to profit withal; and do not resist the Holy Ghost, which Christ hath sent to lead you into all Truth, and to reprove you; and hate not the Light which Christ hath enlightened you withal, that you may believe in it, and walk in it, that you may become Children of the Light, lest it be your Condemnation: For is not the Light sufficient to lead you, and guide you, and rule you, and to give you the Knowledge of the Glory of God in the Face of Christ Jesus? And is not that the Treasure which the Saints had in their earthen Vessels, that the Excellency of the Power might be of God, and not of us, 2 *Cor.* iv. And rebel not against the Spirit, which God hath given you to instruct you, and to know the things of God by and that in the spirit you may have Fellowship with the Saints: For if you rebel against his Good Spirit, what are all your Fellowships good for? and is not God's Spirit sufficient? doth not Christ say, *It is the Spirit of the Father, that speaks in you?* and is not that sufficient to rule and to guide, and to serve and worship God in, in Spirit and Truth.

And did not the Apostle say in *Rom. i. 9*, that he *served God in the Spirit*. And is it not the Duty of all *Christians*, to serve God in the Spirit? And is not that a sufficient Rule that will teach them to know how to serve God (to wit, his holy spirit) by which Spirit they may know God, and Christ, and the Scriptures, and know one another in the Spirit, and in it have Fellowship, and so keep the Unity of the Spirit, the Bond of Peace, yea, the Bond of the Prince of Princes, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords Peace, which none can take away from them?

And doth not Christ say, *They that worship the Father, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth*? And is not that a sufficient Rule, to worship him in, the Grace of God, which brings Salvation, which teacheth the Saints? is not this a sufficient Rule to teach and to establish the Heart, and season thy Words, and bring Salvation.

And the Apostle saith, *Rom. viii. 26. Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our Infirmities*. So is not the Spirit sufficient, that helps Peoples Infirmities? *And the Spirit it self makes Intercession*.

And in *Gal. v. 16. I say, walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the Lusts of the Flesh*.

And is not this a sufficient Rule for People to walk by?

And the Apostle saith in *Gal. ii. 19, 20.*  
*For I through the Law am dead to the Law, that I might live unto God ; I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me ; and the Life that I now live in the Flesh, I live by the Faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me. [Mark]*  
 This should be every CHRISTIAN'S Life and Living.

Worcester Prison, the  
 9th day of the 11th  
 Moneth, 1674.

GEORGE FOX.

*For obeying the Command of Christ and the Apostle James his Doctrine, who say, Swear not at all, Mat. v. Jam. v.*

\* \* \* \* \*

[*Title-page of a pamphlet by Whitehead the Quaker, which only contains 26 pages.*]

The  
 PATH OF THE JUST CLEARED ;  
 and  
 Cruelty and Tyranny laid Open.  
 Or a few Words to you Priests  
 and Magistrates of this nation  
 (who say we deny the Scriptures, and that we are  
 Antichrists and Deceivers, and that we deny the  
 Word of God.)

Wherein your Oppression and Tyranny is laid Open, which by you is unjustly acted against the Servants of the Living God, who by the World which hate the Light of Christ, are in Derision called Quakers.

Wherein also is something declared both to Judge and Justices so called, concerning Contempt of Authority.

Also the Ground and Cause of the Imprisonment of *George Whitehead* and *John Harwood*, who are Sufferers for the Innocent Truth's sake, in the Goal of *Bury* in *Suffolk*.

Also a Copy of a Paper, which a Servant of the Lord, called *Richard Clayton*, was moved to set upon a Steeple-house Door at *Bury* in *Suffolk*, for which he was caused to be whipped by one *Thomas Waldegrave*, Justice of Peace in the said County.

*But though hand joyn in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished ; but the Seed of the Righteous shall be delivered.* Prov. xi. 21.

From the Spirit of the Living God in me, whose name in the flesh is *George Whitehead*, who for Sion's sake cannot hold my peace, but testify against her Oppressors : who am a Sufferer as aforesaid, the 4 day of the 7 month, 1655.

Also a Paper against the Sin of Idleness, which we declare against, and live out of ; and are diligent serving the Lord, though that sin be cast upon us, yet it we deny, with all other sins and ungodlinesses, which is contrary to the Gospel of Christ.

*London*, Printed for *Giles Colvert*, at the *Black-Spread-Eagle*, near the West End of *Paul's*, 1655.



## XII

### HALIFAX

[George Savile, Marquis of Halifax (c. 1630-1695) was one of the first statesmen of his time, and his pamphlets entitle him to a place among English classics. Raised to the peerage for his assistance in bringing about the Restoration, he had been dismissed from the Lord Presidency of the Council two years before the appearance of the *Letter to a Dissenter*, for his strenuous opposition to the repeal of the Test Act. Two years afterwards it was he who was chosen to present the Crown to William III.

James II. in 1687 issued the Declaration of Indulgence, the object of which was to remove all the disabilities under which Roman Catholics suffered. In order to win support for his measure the King included in the Declaration all moderate Presbyterians and Quakers. The balance of power thus lay with the Dissenters. If they were tempted by the promise of toleration to side with the King, he would probably have been strong enough to carry his way. The Dissenters, who had been treated with especial severity since the fall of Shaftesbury in 1681, suddenly found themselves courted on all sides : at first some of them wavered, but in the end their fear and hatred of Romanism

overcame all else, and they sided with the Church and the people against James' toleration. Halifax's *Letter* had a large share in this result. Its effect was immense; over 20,000 copies were circulated by the post, and thus it told in every corner of the Kingdom. Twenty-four answers were published to the *Letter*, "but the town pronounced that they were all bad." The Government was greatly irritated at the success of the tract, and spared no pains to discover its author. Some fancied they recognised the style of Sir William Temple. "But in truth," says Macaulay, "that amplitude and acuteness of intellect, that vivacity of fancy, that terse and energetic style, that placid dignity, half courtly half philosophical, which the utmost excitement of conflict could not for a moment derange, belonged to Halifax, and to Halifax alone."

"In this masterly little tract," continues Macaulay, "all the arguments which could convince a nonconformist that it was his duty and his interest to prefer an alliance with the Church to an alliance with the Court, were condensed into the smallest compass, arranged in the most perspicuous order, illustrated with lively wit, and enforced by an eloquence earnest indeed, yet never in its utmost vehemence transgressing the limits of exact good sense and good breeding." Mackintosh, in his *History of the Revolution*, calls it the most perfect model of a political tract. "Although its whole argument," he says, "unbroken by diversion to general topics, is brought exclusively to bear with concentrated force upon the question, the parties, and the moment, it cannot be read after an interval of a century and a half without admiration of its acuteness, address, terseness, and poignancy."]

A  
LETTER  
TO A  
DISSENTER,  
upon occasion of  
His Majesties  
Late Gracious  
Declaration  
of  
Indulgence.

London :  
Printed for G. H. 1687.

Sir,

Since Addresses are in fashion, give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the effect of Fear, Interest, or Resentment; therefore you may be sure it is sincere: and for that reason it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have power enough to Convince, dependeth upon the Reasons, of which you are to judge; and upon your preparation of Mind, to be persuaded by Truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the less welcom, for coming from a friendly hand, one whose kindness to you is not lessened by difference of Opinion,

and who will not let his thoughts for the Publick be so tyed or confined to this or that Sub-division of Protestants, as to stifle the Charity, which besides all other Arguments, is at this time become necessary to preserve us.

I am neither surprized nor provoked, to see that in the condition you were put into by the Laws, and the ill circumstances you lay under, by having the Exclusion and Rebellion laid to your Charge, you were desirous to make your selves less uneasie and obnoxious to Authority. Men who are sore, run to the nearest Remedy with too much haste, to consider all the consequences: Grains of allowance are to be given, where Nature giveth such strong Influences. When to men under sufferings it offereth Ease, the present Pain will hardly allow time to examine the Remedies; and the strongest Reason can hardly gain a fair Audience from our Mind, whilst so possessed, till the smart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the warmth that naturally belongeth to new Friendship's, may not make it a harder task for me to perswade you. It is like telling Lovers, in the beginning of their Joys, that they will in a little time have an end. Such an unwelcome style doth

not easily find credit: but I will suppose you are not so far gone in your new Passion, but that you will hear still; and therefore I am under the less discouragement, when I offer to your consideration two things. The *first* is, the cause you have to suspect your new Friends. The *second*, the Duty incumbent upon you, in Christianity and Prudence, not to hazard the publick safety, neither by desire or Ease, nor of Revenge.

To the *first*: Consider that notwithstanding the smooth Language which is now put on to engage you, these new Friends did not make you their Choice, but their Refuge: They have ever made their first Courtships to the Church of *England*, and when they were rejected there, they made their Application to you in the second place. The Instances of this, might be given in all times. I do not repeat them, because whatsoever is unnecessary, must be tedious, the truth of this Assertion being so plain, as not to admit a dispute. You cannot therefore reasonably flatter your selves, that there is any Inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any Quarter, but to usher in Liberty for themselves under that shelter. I refer you to Mr *Coleman's Letters*, and to the *Journals of Parliament*, where you

may be convinced, if you can be so mistaken, as to doubt ; nay, at this very hour, they can hardly forbear, in the height of their Courtship, to let fall hard words of you. So little is Nature to be restrained ; it will start out sometimes, disdaining to submit to the Usurpation of Art and Interest.

This alliance, between *Liberty* and *Infallibility*, is bringing together the Two most contrary things that are in the World. The Church of *Rome* doth not onely dislike the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expresly forbidden to the *Mahometans*, then giving Hereticks Liberty is to *Papists* : They are no more able to make good their Vows to you, then men married before, and their wife alive, can conform their Contract with another. The Continuance of their kindness, would be a habit of Sin, of which they are to repent, and their Absolution is to be had upon no other terms, than their Promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, onely that you may be the better squeezed at another time. There must be something Extraordinary, when the Church of *Rome* setteth up Bills ; and offereth Plaisters, for tender consciences ; By all that hath hitherto

appeared, her skill in chirurgery lyeth chiefly in a quick Hand, to cut off Limbs ; but she is the worst at Healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

To come so quick from another extream, is such an unnatural motion, that you ought to be upon your guard ; the other day you were *Sons of Belial*, Now, you are *Angels of Light*. This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it, before you believe it : If your features are not altered, neither is their opinion of you, what ever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*? sure you do not. See then, how they treat both in Words and writing, those who entertain that opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconsistant their favour is with this single Article, except they give you a Dispensation for this too, and by a *Non Obstante*, secure you that they will not think the worse of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only friend to Liberty, and the known enemy to Persecution : The men of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*,<sup>1</sup> are above all other

<sup>1</sup> These towns had been Centres of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685.

eminent for Loyalty. The *Quakers* from being declared by the Papists not to be Christians, are now made Favourites<sup>1</sup> and taken into their particular Protection; they are on a sudden grown the most Accomplished men of the Kingdom, in good Breeding, and give Thanks with the best Grace, in double refined Language. So that I should not wonder, though a man of that Perswasion, in spite of his Hat, should be Master of the Ceremonies. Not to say harsher words, these are such very new things, that it is impossible not to suspend our belief, till by a little more Experience we may be inform'd whether they are Realities or Apparitions: We have been under shameful mistakes, if these Opinions are true; but for the present, we are apt to be incredulous; except we could be convinced, that the Priests words in this Case too, are able to make such a sudden, and effectual change; and that their Power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the nature of all other things, as often as they are so disposed.

Let me now speak of the Instruments of your Friendship, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford matter of Suspicion. No Sharpness is to be mingled where

<sup>1</sup> Penn is here attacked under a very thin disguise.



Healing only is intended ; so nothing will be said to expose particular men, how strong soever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better caution, shall suffice : Suppose then, for Argument's sake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance, should be such as have been formerly employed in Treaties of the same kinde, and there detected to have Acted by Order, and to have been Impowered to give Encouragements and Rewards. Would not this be an argument to suspect them ?

If they should plainly be under Engagements to one side, their Arguments to the other, ought to be received accordingly ; their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as a part of their Commission, which may not improbably give them a Dispensation in the case of Truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the Service of those by whom they are employed.

If there should be men who having formerly had Means and Authority to perswade by Secular Arguments, have in pursuance of that Power, sprinkled Money amongst the Dissenting Ministers ; and if those very men should now have the same Authority, practice the same Methods, and Disburse, where they cannot otherwise perswade : It seemeth to me to

be rather an Evidence than a Presumption of the Deceit.

If there should be Ministers amongst you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this kinde, are in some sort engaged to continue their Frailty, by the awe they are in lest it should be exposed : The perswasions of these unfortunate men must sure have the less force, and their Arguments, though never so specious, are to be suspected, when they come from men who have Mortgaged themselves to severe Creditors that expect a rigorous observation of the Contract, let it be never so unwarrantable.

If these, or any others, should at this time Preach up Anger and Vengeance against the Church of *England* ; may it not without Injustice be suspected, that a thing so plainly out of season, springeth rather from Corruption than Mistake ; and that those who act this Cholerick part, do not believe themselves, but onely pursue higher Directions, endeavour to make good that part of their Contract which obligeth them, upon a Forfeiture, to make use of their inflaming Eloquence ? They might apprehend their Wages would be re-trenched if they should be Moderate : And therefore whilst Violence is their Interest, those who have not the same Arguments,

have no reason to follow such a Partial Example.

If there should be men who by the load of their Crimes, against the Government have been bowed down to comply with it against their Conscience; who by incurring the want of a pardon, have drawn upon themselves the necessity of an intire Resignation: Such men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themselves, when they have discharged their Unwelcome Task, will be inwardly glad that their forced Endeavours do not succeed, and are pleased when men resist their Insinuations; which are far from being Voluntary or Sincere, but are Squeezed out of them by the weight of their being so Obnoxious.

If in the height of this great dearness by comparing things, it should happen, that at this instant, there is much a surer Friendship with those who are so far from allowing Liberty, that they allow no Living to a Protestant under them. Let the Scene lie in what part of the World it will, the Argument will come home, and sure it will afford sufficient ground to suspect. Apparent Contradictions must strike us; neither Nature nor Reason can digest them: Self-Flattery, and the desire to

Deceive our selves, to gratifie a present Appetite, with all their Power, which is Great, cannot get the better of such broad Conviction, as some things carry along with them. Will you call these vain and empty Suspitions? have you been at all times so void of Fears and Jealousies as to justifie your being so unreasonably Valiant in having none upon this occasion? Such an extraordinary Courage at this unseasonable time, to say no more, is too dangerous a Virtue to be commended.

If then for these and a thousand other Reasons, there is cause to suspect, sure your new Friends are not to Dictate to you, or advise you; for instance, The Addresses that fly abroad every week; and Murther us with *another to the same*; the first Draughts are made by those who are not very proper to be Secretaries to the Protestant Religion; and it is your part onely to Write them out fairer again. Strange! that you who have been formerly so much against *Set Forms*, should now be content the Priests should Indite for you. The nature of Thanks is an unavoidable consequence of being Pleased or Obliged; they grow in the Heart and from thence shew themselves either in Looks, Speech, Writing, or Action: No man was ever Thankful because he was bid to be so,

but because he had, or thought he had some Reason for it. If then there is cause in this Case to pay such Extravagant Acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking such pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done to Tire all the Post-Horses with carrying Circular Letters to solicit that which would be done without any trouble or constraint: If it is really in it self such a Favour, what needeth so much pressing men to be Thankful, and with such eager circumstances, that where Perswasions cannot delude, Threatenings are employed to fright them into a Compliance? Thanks must be voluntary, not only unconstrained, but unsolicited, else they are either Trifles or Snares, they either signifie nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by those that give them. If an Interference should be made, That whosoever Thanketh the King for his Declaration, is by that engaged to Iustifie it in point of Law; it is a greater Stride than, I presume, all those care to make who are perswaded to Address: If it shall be supposed, that all the Thankers will be Repealers of the TEST, whenever a *Parliament* shall Meet. Such an Expectation is better prevented before, than disappointed afterwards; and the surest way to avoid the lying under such a Scandal, is

not to do anything that may give a colour to the Mistake: These Bespoken Thanks are little less improper than Love Letters that were Solicited by the Lady to whom they are to be Directed: so, that besides the little ground there is to give them, the manner of getting them, doth extreamly lessen their Value. It might be wished that you would have suppressed your impatience, and have been content for the sake of Religion, to enjoy it within your selves, without the Liberty of a publick Exercise, till a Parliament had allowed it; but since that could not be, and that the Artifices of some amongst you have made use of the Well-meant Zeal of the Generality to draw them into this Mistake; I am so far from blaming you with that sharpness which, perhaps, the Matter in strictness would bear, that I am ready to err on the side of the more gentle construction.

There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the advantages of an Act irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the Laws in being: The Law is so Sacred, that no Trespass against it is to be Defended; yet Frailties may in some measure be Excused, when they cannot be Justified. The desire of enjoying a Liberty from which men have been so long restrained, may be

a Temptation that their Reason is not at all times able to resist. If in such a case, some Objections are left over, indifferent men will be more inclined to lament the Occasion, than to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilst it is covered with the Apology of a good Intention ; but where to rescue your selves from the Severity of one Law, you give a Blow to all the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be protected ; and instead of silently receiving the benefit of this Indulgence, you set up for Advocates to support it, you become voluntary Aggressors, and looke like Counsel retained by the Prerogative against your old Friend *Magna Charta*, who hath done nothing to deserve her falling thus under your Displeasure.

If the case then should be, that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, sure you will think twice, before you go any further in such a losing Bargain. After giving Thanks for the breach of one Law, you lose the Right of Complaining of the breach of all the rest ; you will not very well know how to defend your selves, when you are pressed ; and having given up the Question, when it was for your advantage, you cannot recall it, when it shall

be to your prejudice. If you will set up at one time a Power to help you, which at another time by parity of Reason shall be made use of to destroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved against a Mischief you draw upon your selves, by being so unreasonably thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries to help, who are strong enough to subdue you: In such a case your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raise Mirth instead of Compassion.

If you think, for your excuse, to expound your Thanks so as to restrain them to this particular case, others, for their ends, will extend them further; and in these differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the most likely to prevail; especially when by the advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the Argument, and that the Inferences from your own Concessions are very strong, and express against you. This is so far from being a groundless Supposition, that there was a late instance of it, the last Session of Parliament, in the House of Lords, where the first Thanks, though things of course, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the King's whole Speech, and a Restraint from the further



Examination of any part of it, though never so much disliked; and it was with difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Dispensing meerly by this innocent and usual piece of good Manners, by which no such thing could possibly be intended.<sup>1</sup>

This sheweth, that some bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Constitution of *England* is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a Complement. Now that you have for some time enjoyed the benefit of the End, it is time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The same Reason that made you desirous to get Liberty, must make you solicitous to preserve it: so that the next thought will naturally be, not to engage your self beyond Retreat, and to agree so far with the Principles of all Religions, as not to rely upon a Deathbed Repentance.

There are certain Periods of time, which being once past, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies desperate. Our Understandings are apt to be hurried on by the first heats; which, if not restrained in time, do not give

<sup>1</sup> Halifax himself spoke against the repeal of the Test Act on this occasion (1686), and both houses were at once prorogued.

us leave to look back, till it is too late. Consider this in the Case of your Anger against the Church of *England*, and take warning by their Mistake in the same kind, when after the late King's Restoration, they preserved so long the bitter taste of your rough usage to them in other times, that it made them forget their Interest, and sacrifice it to their Revenge.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that reason not follow it, or if you allow it, you have no reason to be offended with them ; so that you must either dismiss your Anger, or lose your Excuse ; except you should argue more partially than will be supposed of Men of your Morality and Understanding.

If you had now to do with those Rigid Prelates, who made it a Matter of Conscience to give you the least Indulgence, but kept you at an uncharitable distance, and even to your more reasonable Scruples continued and exorable, the Argument might be fairer on your side, but since the common Danger hath so laid open that Mistake, that all the former Haughtiness towards you is for ever extinguish'd, and that it hath turned the Spirit of Persecution, into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condescension ; shall this happy Change only affect the Church of *England* ? And are you

so in love with Separation, as not to be moved by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other reason than that it is a Vertue; but when besides that, it is become necessary to your preservation, it is impossible to fail the having its Effect upon you.

If it should be said, that the Church of *England*, is never Humble, but when she is out of Power, and therefore loseth the Right of being Believed when she pretendeth to it; the Answer is, *first*, it would be an uncharitable Objection, and very much miss-timed? an unseasonable Triumph, not only ungenerous, but unsafe: So that in these respects it cannot be urged, without Scandal, even though it could be said with Truth. *Secondly*, This is not so in Fact, and the Argument must fall, being built upon a false Foundation; for whatever may be told you, at this very hour, and in the heat and glare of your present Sun-shine, the *Church of England* can in a moment bring Clouds again; and turn the Royal Thunder upon your Heads, blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if she would give but a Smile or a kind Word; the least Glimpse of her Compliance, would throw you back into the state of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Arrears of Severity, which have accrued during the time

of this kindness to you, and yet the *Church of England*, with all her Faults, will not allow herself to be rescued by such unjustifiable means, but chuseth to bear the weight of Power, rather than lie under the burthen of being Criminal.

It cannot be said, that she is unprovoked ; Books and Letters come out every day, to call for Answers, yet she will not be stirred. From the supposed Authors and the Stile one would swear they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the *Church of England*. There are Lashes in every Address, Challenges to draw the Pen in every Pamphlet ; in short, the fairest occasions in the World given to quarrel ; but she wisely distinguisheth between the Body of Dissenters, whom she will suppose to Act, as they do, with no ill intent ; and these small Skirmishers pickt and sent out to Picqueer,<sup>1</sup> and to begin a Fray amongst the Protestants, for the entertainment, as well as the advantage of the *Church of Rome*.

This Conduct is so good, that it will be Scandalous not to Applaud it. It is not equal dealing, to blame our Adversaries for doing ill, and not commend them when they do well.

To hate them because they Persecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are

<sup>1</sup> To skirmish.

ready to Suffer, rather than receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a Criminal Compliance, is a Principle no sort of Christians can own, since it would give an Objection to them never to be answered.

Think a little, who they were that promoted your former Persecutions, and then consider how it will look to be angry with the Instruments, and at the same time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every Borough by a Virtue of a *Conge d'eslire*, and instead of Election, be satisfied if you are returned?

Will you in *Parliament*, justify the Dispensing Power, with all its consequences, and repeal the *Test*, by which you will make way for the Repeal of all the Laws, that were made to preserve your Religion, and to Enact others that shall destroy it?

Are you disposed to change the Liberty of Debate into the Merit of Obedience, and to be made Instruments to Repeal or Enact Laws, when the *Roman Consistory* are *Lords of the Articles*.

Are you so linked with your new Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a *Parliament* shall

offer you, if it shall not be so Comprehensive as to include the *Papists* in it?

Consider that the implied Conditions of your new Treaty are no less, than that you are to do every thing you are desired, without examining, and that for this pretended Liberty of Conscience, your real Freedom is to be Sacrificed : Your former Faults hang like Chains still about you, you are let loose only upon Bayl ; the first Act of Non-compliance, sendeth you to jayl again.

You may see that the Papists themselves, do not rely upon the Legality of this Power, which you are to Justifie, since they being so very earnest to get it Established by a Law, and the doing such very hard things in order, as they think to obtain it, is a clear Evidence, that they do not think, that the single Power of the Crown is in this Case a good Foundation ; especially when this is done under a Prince, so very tender to all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a diminution to his Prerogative, where he conceiveth it strong enough to go alone, to call in the Legislative help to strengthen and support it.

You have formerly blamed the *Church* of *England*, and not without reason, for going so far as they did in their Compliance ; and yet as

soon as they stopped, you see they are not only Deserted, but Prosecuted : Conclude then from this Example, that you must either break off your Friendship, or resolve to have no Bounds in it. If they do not succeed in their Design, they will leave you first ; if they do, you must either leave them, when it will be too late for your Safety, or else after the squeeziness of starting at a Surplice, you must be forced to swallow Transubstantiation.

Remember that the other day those of the Church of *England* were *Trimmers* for enduring you, and now by a sudden Turn, you are becoming the Favourites ; do not deceive yourselves, it is not the Nature of lasting Plants thus to shoot up in a Night ; you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a Root to give you a continuance. It is not so long since, as to be forgotten, that the *Maxim* was, *It is impossible for a Dissenter, not to be a REBEL.* Consider at this time in *France*, even the new Converts are so far from being Employed, that they are Disarmed : their sudden Change maketh them still to be distrusted, notwithstanding that they are Reconciled : What are you to expect then from your dear Friends to whom, whenever they shall think fit to throw you off again, you have

in other times given such Arguments for their excuse.

Besides all this, you Act very unskilfully against your visible Interest, if you throw away the advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution.<sup>1</sup> Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unreasonable Activity lose the Influences of your good Star, which promiseth you every thing that is prosperous.

The *Church of England* convinced of its Error in being Severe to you ; the *Parliament*, when ever it meeteth, sure to be Gentle to you ; the next Heir<sup>2</sup> bred in the Country which you have so often Quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence ; a general Agreement of all thinking Men, that we must no more cut our selves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather inlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences against the Common Enemy ; so that in Truth, all things seem to conspire to give you ease and satisfaction, if by too much hast to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not destroy it.

<sup>1</sup> This bold prophecy waited but two years for its fulfilment, when William III. secured the Toleration Act of 1689.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, who had married William of Orange in 1677, and lived with him in Holland.



The Protestants have but one Article of Human Strength, to oppose the Power which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the advantage of their numbers, by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince, our Objections to his Belief, do not hinder us from seeing his Vertues ; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no effect upon our Allegiance ; we are not to be Laughed out of our Passive Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, though even those who perhaps owe the best part of their Security to that Principle, are apt to make a Jest of it.

So that if we give no advantage by the fatal mistake of misapplying our Anger, by the natural course of things, this Danger will pass away like a shower of Hail ; fair weather will succeed, as lowering as the sky now looketh, and all by this plain and easie Receipt. Let us be still, quiet and undivided, firm at the same time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws, and so long as we continue this method, it is next to impossible, that the odds of two hundred to one should lose the Bett ; except the Church of *Rome*, which hath been so long barren of Miracles, should now in her declining Age, be brought

to Bed of One that would out-do the best she can brag of in her *Legend*.

To conclude, the short Question will be, Whether you will joyn with those who must in the end run the same Fate with you. If Protestants of all sorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon the more equal terms, and for that very reason it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our Dis-union is not only a Reproach, but a Danger to us ; those who believe in modern Miracles, have more Right, or at least more Excuse, to neglect all Secular Cautions ; but for us, it is as justifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the Human Means of preserving it. I am,

Dear SIR,

*Your most Affectionate*

*Humble Servant,*

T. W.

## XIII

### DANIEL DEFOE

[The author of *Robinson Crusoe* (c. 1660-1731) wrote several famous pamphlets both political and religious. He also started a paper the *Review*, and earned a not very honourable living as political agent and publicist.

The immediate cause of Defoe's writing the *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* was the bill for the suppression of Occasional Conformity which the 'High-Flyers' introduced in 1702. The bill was aimed against those Dissenters who, to avoid the political Disabilities, were in the habit of occasionally attending church; and it was hoped by the High Churchmen, who were constantly pressing for legislation against the practice, that its suppression would throw many Dissenters into full conformity. Defoe was in favour of the Bill, because he thought the loss of such half-hearted men would be a gain to his party; but, finding the rest of the Dissenters suspected him for his view of the matter, he published the *Shortest Way* in order to expose the persecuting Church spirit of the time, and set himself right with his friends. Writing in the disguise of a High Churchman he urged the complete extirpation of all Dissenters. The ruse was complete. For a time the pamphlet deceived both friend and foe; the extreme Tories, so far from detecting the irony of Defoe's *reductio ad absurdum*, approved it in sober earnest as a vigorous statement of their own views, and one clergyman

declared it to come next to the Bible in his estimation. Defoe had to write and explain that it was meant in sarcasm. Then the High-Flyers were brought to their senses, and had to disavow the principles thus nakedly revealed. Naturally the dominant party was furious. The House of Commons ordered the pamphlet to be burnt by the hangman ; and in 1703 Defoe was prosecuted for libelling the Church by misrepresenting its principles. He was sentenced to a fine of 200 marks, the pillory, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure. When he stood in the pillory on the three last days of July, the people covered it with flowers, formed a guard of honour, and drank his health, and the *Hymn to the Pillory* which he had written was sold in large numbers among the crowd. The Occasional Conformity Bills of 1702 and 1706 were passed by the Tory Commons, but rejected by the Lords, the Whig bishops voting against it ; but in the Tory enthusiasm over the Sacheverell case the bill became law, together with the Schism Act in 1710. The accession of George I. brought the Whigs again into power, and both acts were finally repealed in 1718.

Many will think that Defoe really did prove too much. His supple and unprincipled mind was able, as we know, to throw itself into opposite causes for the sake of profit, and in the *Shortest Way* he seems to take a delight in presenting the case against his co-religionists in the strongest possible way, as if he were carried away by the part he was playing. "An unprincipled hack, ready to take any side of any question," wrote Macaulay. "Of all writers he was the most unlucky in irony. Twice he was prosecuted for what he meant to be ironical ; but he was so unskilful that everybody understood him literally."]

THE  
SHORTEST-WAY  
WITH THE  
DISSENTERS :  
or  
Proposals  
for the  
Establishment  
of the  
Church.

London :  
Printed in the Year M.DCCII.

SIR *Roger L'Estrange*<sup>1</sup> tells us a Story in his Collection of Fables, of the Cock and the Horses. The Cock was gotten to Roost in the Stable, among the Horses, and there being no Racks, or other Conveniences for him, it seems, he was forc'd to roost upon the Ground ; the Horses jostling about for room, and putting the Cock in danger of his Life, he gives them this grave Advice ; *Pray Gentlefolks let us stand*

<sup>1</sup> This remarkable pamphleteer, author, and journalist, was condemned to death as a Royalist in 1644, but lived to be imprisoned again by Wil. III. in 1695, and died in 1704, after a chequered career of 88 years.

*still, for fear we should tread upon one another.*

There are some People in the World, who now they are *unpearcht*, and reduc'd to an Equality with other People, and under strong and very just apprehensions of being further treated as they deserve, begin with *Æsop's* Cock, to Preach up Peace and Union, and the Christian Duties of Moderation, forgetting, that when they had the Power in their Hands, those Graces were Strangers in their Gates.

It is now near Fourteen Years,<sup>1</sup> that the Glory and Peace of the purest and most flourishing Church in the World has been Ecclips'd, Buffeted, and Disturb'd, by a sort of Men, who God in his Providence has suffer'd to insult over her, and bring her down; these have been the Days of her Humiliation and Tribulation: She has born with an invincible Patience the Reproach of the Wicked, and God has at last heard her Prayers, and deliver'd her from the oppression of the stranger.

And now they find their Day is over, their Power gone, and the Throne of this Nation possest of a Royal, *English*, True, and ever

<sup>1</sup> In 1689 William III. came to the throne, and passed the Toleration Act which allowed to Orthodox Dissenters the free exercise of their religion.

Constant Member of, and Friend to the Church of *England*.<sup>1</sup> Now they find that they are in danger of the Church of *England's* just Resentments; now they cry out *Peace, Union, Forbearance, and Charity*, as if the Church had not too long harbour'd her Enemies under her Wing, and nourish'd the viperous Brood, till they hiss and fly in the Face of the Mother that cherish'd them.

*No Gentlemen*, the Time of Mercy is past, your *Day of Grace is over*; you shou'd have practis'd Peace, and Moderation, and Charity, if you expected any your selves.

We have heard none of this Lesson for Fourteen Years past: We have been huff'd and bully'd with your Act of Tolleration; you have told us that you are the *Church establish'd by Law*, as well as others; have set up your Canting-Synagogues at our Church-Doors, and the Church and her Members have been loaded with Reproaches, with Oaths, Associations, Abjurations, and what not; where has been the Mercy, the Forbearance, the Charity you have shewn to *tender Consciences of the Church of England*,<sup>2</sup> that cou'd not take

<sup>1</sup> Queen Anne, a staunch Churchwoman, had just come to the throne. William III., besides being Dutch, was no friend of Church doctrines.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* The Nonjurors.

Oaths *as fast as you made 'em*; that having sworn allegiance to their lawful and rightful King, cou'd not dispence with that Oath, *their King being still alive*, and swear to your new *Hodge-podge of a Dutch-Government*. These ha' been turn'd out of their Livings,<sup>1</sup> and they and their Families left to starve; their Estates double Tax'd, to carry on a War they had *no Hand in*, and you *got nothing by*: What Account can you give of the Multitudes you have forc'd to comply, against their Consciences, with your new *sophistical Politics*, who like the new Converts in *France*, Sin because they can't Starve. And now the Tables are turn'd *upon you*, *you must not be Persecuted, 'tis not a Christian Spirit*.

You have *Butcher'd* one King, Depos'd another King, and made a *mock King* of a Third; and yet you cou'd have the Face to expect to be employ'd and trusted by the Fourth; any body that did not know the Temper of your Party, wou'd stand amaz'd at the Impudence, as well as Folly, to think of it.

Your Management of your *Dutch Monarch*,

<sup>1</sup> Sancroft, Ken, and four other bishops, as well as 400 priests, were expelled for refusing the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.



whom you reduc'd to a meer *King of Cl . . . s*, is enough to give any future Princes such an Idea of your Principles, as to warn them sufficiently from coming into your Clutches ; and God be thank'd, the Queen is out of your Hands, knows you, and will have a care of you.

There is no doubt but the supreme Authority of a Nation has in its self a Power, *and a Right to that Power*, to execute the Laws upon any Part of that Nation it governs. The execution of the known Laws of the Land, and that with but a weak and gentle Hand neither, was all that the phanatical Party of this Land have ever call'd Persecution ; this they have magnified to a height, that the Sufferings of the *Hugonots* in *France* were not to be compar'd with —. Now to execute the known Laws of a Nation upon those who transgress them, after having first been voluntarily consenting to the making those Laws, can never be call'd Persecution, but Justice : But Justice is always Violence to the Party offending, for every Man is Innocent in his own Eyes. The first execution of the Laws against Dissenters in *England*, was in the Days of King *James* the First ; and what did it amount to, truly, the worst they suffer'd, was at their own re-

quest, to let them go to *New England*,<sup>1</sup> and erect a new Collony, and give them great Privileges, Grants, and suitable Powers, keep them under Protection, and defend them against all Invaders, and receive no Taxes or Revenue from them. This was the cruelty of the Church of *England*, fatal Lenity! 'Twas the ruin of that excellent Prince, King *Charles* the First. Had King *James* sent all the Puritans in *England* away to the *West-Indies*, we had been a national unmix'd Church; the Church of *England* had been kept undivided and entire.

To require the Lenity of the Father, they take up Arms against the Son; Conquer, Pursue, Take, Imprison, and at last put to Death the anointed of God, and Destroy the very Being and Nature of Government, setting up a sordid Impostor, who had neither Title to Govern, nor Understanding to Manage, but supplied that want with Power, bloody and desperate Councils and Craft, without Conscience.

Had not King *James* the First withheld the full execution of the Laws; had he given them strict Justice, he had clear'd the Nation of them, and the Consequences had been plain;

<sup>1</sup> The Pilgrim Fathers sailed in the *Mayflower* in 1620.

his *Son had never been murther'd by them*, nor the Monarchy overwhelm'd; 'twas *too much Mercy* shewn them, was the ruin of his Posterity, and the ruin of the Nation's Peace. One would think the Dissenters should not have the Face to believe that we are to be wheedl'd and canted into Peace and Toleration, when they know that they have once requited us with a civil War, and once with an intollerable and unrighteous Persecution for our former Civility.

Nay, to encourage us to be Easy with them, 'tis apparent, that they never had the Upper-hand of the Church, but they treated her with all Severity, with all the Reproach and Contempt as was possible: What Peace, and what Mercy did they shew the Loyal Gentry of the Church of *England* in the time of their Triumphant Common-wealth? How did they put all the Gentry of *England* to ransom, whether they were actually in Arms for the King or not, making People compound for their Estates, and starve their Families? How did they treat the Clergy of the Church of *England*, sequester'd the Ministers, devour'd the Patrimony of the Church, and divided the Spoil, by sharing the Church-Lands among their Soldiers, and turning her Clergy out to

starve ; just such Measure as they have mete, shou'd be measur'd to them again.

Charity and Love is the known Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and 'tis plain she has put it in practice towards the Dissenters, even beyond what they ought, till she has been wanting to her self, and in effect, unkind to her own Sons ; particularly, in the too much Lenity of King *James* the First, mentioned before, had he so rooted the Puritans from the Face of the Land, which he had an opportunity early to ha' done, they had not the Power to vex the Church, as since they have done.

IN the Days of King *Charles* the Second, how did the Church reward their bloody Doings with Lenity and Mercy, *except the barbarous Regicides of the pretended Court of Justice* ; not a Soul suffer'd for all the Blood in an unnatural War : King *Charles* came in all Mercy and Love, cherish'd them, preferr'd them, employ'd them, withheld the rigour of the Law, and oftentimes, even against the Advice of his Parliament, gave them liberty of Conscience ; and how did they requite him with the villainous Contrivance to Depose and Murther him and his Successor at the *Rye-Plot*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Rye House Plot, 1683.

KING *James*, as if Mercy was the inherent Quality of the Family, began his Reign with unusual Favour to them: Nor could their joining with the Duke of *Monmouth* against him, move him to do himself Justice upon them; but that mistaken Prince thought to win them by Gentleness and Love, proclaim'd an universal Liberty to them, and rather discountenanc'd the Church of *England* than them; how they requited him all the World knows.

THE late Reign is too fresh in the Memory of all the World to need a Comment; how under Pretence of joining with the Church in redressing some Grievances, they pusht things to that extremity, in conjunction with some mistaken Gentlemen, as to Depose the late King, as if the Grievance of the Nation cou'd not ha' been redress'd but by the absolute ruin of the Prince: Here's an Instance of their Temper, their Peace, and Charity. To what height they carried themselves during the Reign of a King of their own; how they crope into all Places of Trust and Profit; how they insinuated into the Favour of the King, and were at first preferr'd to the highest Places in the Nation; how they engrost the Ministry, and

*above all, how pitifully they manag'd, is too plain to need any Remarks.*

BUT particularly, their Mercy and Charity, the Spirit of Union, they tell us so much of, has been remarkable in *Scotland*, if any Man wou'd see the Spirit of a Dissenter, let him look into *Scotland*; there they made an entire Conquest of the Church, trampled down the sacred Orders, and suppress the Episcopal Government, with an absolute, and as they suppose, irretrievable Victory, tho', 'tis possible, *they may find themselves mistaken*: Now 'twou'd be a very proper Question to ask their *Impudent Advocate, the Observer*, Pray how much Mercy and Favour did the Members of the Episcopal Church find in *Scotland*, from the *Scotch* Presbyterian-Government; and I shall undertake for the Church of *England*, that the Dissenters shall still receive as much here, tho' they deserve but little.

In a small Treatise of the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, 'twill appear, what Usage they met with, how they not only lost their Livings, but in several Places were plunder'd and abus'd in their Persons; the Ministers that cou'd not conform, turn'd out, with numerous Families, and no Mainten-

ance, and hardly Charity enough left to relieve them with a bit of Bread; and the Cruelties of the Party are innumerable, and not to be attempted in this short Piece.

And now to prevent the distant Cloud which they perceiv'd to hang over their Heads from *England*; with a true Presbyterian Policy, they put in for *a union of Nations*, that *England* might unite their Church with the Kirk of *Scotland*, and their Presbyterian Members sit in our House of Commons, and their Assembly of *Scotch* canting Long-Cloaks in our Convocation; what might ha' been, if our Phanatick Whiggish-States-men had continu'd, God only knows; but we hope we are out of fear of that now.

'Tis alledg'd by some of the Faction, and they began to Bully us with it; that if we won't unite with them, they will not settle the Crown with us again, but when her Majesty dies, will chuse a King for themselves.

If we won't, we must make them, and 'tis not the first time we have let them know that we are able: The Crowns of these Kingdoms have not so far disowned the right of Succession, but they may retrieve it again, and if *Scotland* thinks to come off from a Successive to an Elective State of Government, *England*

has not promised not to assist the right Heir, and put them into possession, without any regard to their ridiculous Settlements.

THESE are the Gentlemen, these their ways of treating the Church, both at home and abroad. Now let us examine the Reasons they pretend to give why we shou'd be favourable to them, why we should continue and tollerate them among us.

*First*, THEY are very Numerous, they say, they are a great Part of the Nation, and we cannot suppress them.

To this may be answer'd. I. THEY are not so Numerous as the Protestants in *France*, and yet the *French King*<sup>1</sup> effectually clear'd the Nation of them at once, and we don't find he misses them at home.

But I am not of the Opinion they are so Numerous as is pretended; their Party is more Numerous than their Persons, and those mistaken People of the Church, who are misled and deluded by their wheedling Artifices, to join with them, make their Party the greater;

<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV., by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685.



but those will open their Eyes, when the Government shall set heartily about the work, and come off from them, as some Animals, which they say, always desert a House when 'tis likely to fall.

*2dly.* The more Numerous, the more Dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them; and God has suffer'd us to bear them as Goads in our sides, for not utterly extinguishing them long ago.

*3dly.* If we are to allow them, only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tried whether we can or no; and I am of Opinion 'tis easy to be done, and cou'd prescribe Ways and Means, if it were proper, but I doubt not but the Government will find effectual Methods for the rooting the Contagion from the Face of this Land.

ANOTHER Argument they use, which is this, that 'tis a time of War, and we have need to unite against the common Enemy.

WE answer, this common Enemy had been no Enemy, if they had not made him so;<sup>1</sup> he was quiet, in peace, and no way disturb'd, or

<sup>1</sup> The French War of 1689-1697 came about through the Accession of Wil. III. The next War began in 1702.

encroach'd upon us, and we know no reason we had to quarrel with him.

But further, We make no question but we are able to deal with this common Enemy without their help; but why must we unite with them because of the Enemy, will they go over to the Enemy, if we do not prevent it by a union with them —. We are very well contented they shou'd; and make no question, we shall be ready to deal with them and the common Enemy too, and better without them than with them.

Besides, if we have a common Enemy, there is the more need to be secure against our private Enemies; if there is one common Enemy, we have the less need to have an Enemy in our Bowels.

'Twas a great Argument some People used against suppressing the Old-Money, that 'twas a time of War, and 'twas too great a Risque for the Nation to run, if we shou'd not master it, we shou'd be undone; and yet the Sequel prov'd the Hazard was not so great, but it might be mastered; and the Success was answerable. The suppressing the Dissenters is not a harder Work, nor a Work of less necessity to the Publick; we can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted Union and Tranquility

in this Nation, till the Spirit of Whiggisme, Faction, and Schism is melted down like the Old-Money.

To talk of the Difficulty, is to Frighten our selves with Chimaeras and Notions of a Powerful Party, which are indeed a Party without Power; Difficulties often appear greater at a distance, than when they are search'd into with Judgment, and distinguish'd from the Vapours and Shadows that attend them.

We are not to be frightened with it; this Age is wiser than that, by all our own Experience, *and theirs too*; King *Charles* the First, had early suppress this Party, if he had took more deliberate Measures. In short, 'tis not worth arguing, to talk of their Arms, their *Monmouths*, and *Shaftesburys*, and *Argiles* are gone, their *Dutch-Sanctuary* is at an end, Heaven has made way for their Destruction, and if we do not close with the Divine occasion, we are to blame our selves, and may remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of *England*, by extirpating her implacable Enemies, and having let slip the Minute that Heaven presented, may experimentally Complain, *Post est Occasio Calvo*.

Here are some popular Objections in the Way.

As first, THE Queen has promis'd them, to continue them in their tollerated Liberty; and has told us she will be a religious Observer of her Word.

WHAT her Majesty will do we cannot help, but what, as the Head of the Church, she ought to do, is another Case: Her Majesty has promised to Protect and Defend the Church of *England*, and if she cannot effectually do that without the Destruction of the Dissenters, she must of course dispencc with one Promise to comply with another. But to answer *this Cavil more effectually*: Her Majesty did never promise to maintain the Tolleration, to the Destruction of the Church; but it is upon supposition that it may be compatible with the well being and safety of the Church, which she had declar'd she would take especial Care of: Now if these two Interests clash, 'tis plain her Majesties Intentions are to Uphold, Protect, Defend, and Establish the Church, and this we conceive is impossible.

Perhaps it may be said, THAT the Church is in no immediate Danger from the Dissenters, and therefore 'tis time enough: But this is a weak Answer.

For first, IF a Danger be real, the Distance of it is no Argument against, but rather a Spur to quicken us to prevention, lest it be too late hereafter.

And 2dly, Here is the Opportunity, and the only one perhaps that ever the Church had to secure her self, and destroy her Enemies.

The Representatives of the Nation have now an Opportunity, the Time is come which all good Men ha' wish'd for, that the Gentlemen of *England* may serve the Church of *England*; now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of *England* Queen.

*What will ye do for your Sister in the Day that she shall be spoken for.*

If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the World.

If ever you will suppress the Spirit of Enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup>

If ever you will free the Nation from the viperous Brood that have so long suck'd the Blood of their Mother.

If you will leave your Posterity free from Faction and Rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this heretical

<sup>1</sup> 'Enthusiasm' was the great bugbear of the Eighteenth Century statesmen and ecclesiastics,—with what result to the Church we are painfully familiar. See p. 215.

Weed of Seditiōn, that has so long disturb'd the Peace of our Church, and poisoned the good Corn.

BUT, says another Hot and Cold Objector, this is renewing Fire and Faggot, reviving the Act *De Heret. Comburendo*:<sup>1</sup> This will be Cruelty in its Nature, and Barbarous to all the World.

I answer, 'TIS Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyson of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury receiv'd, but for prevention; not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do.

Serpents, Toads, Vipers, &c., are noxious to the Body, and poison the sensitive Life; these poyson the Soul, corrupt our Posterity, ensnare our Children, destroy the Vitals of our Happiness, our future Felicity, and contaminate the whole Mass.

Shall any Law be given to such wild Creatures: Some Beasts are for Sport, and

<sup>1</sup> The Act *De Haeretico Comburendo* was passed in 1401. On the accession of Elizabeth the law was modified, but still men were burnt for heresy in her reign and that of James I. The death-punishment for heresy was not abolished till the reign of Charles II., in 1677.

the Huntsmen give them advantages of Ground; but some are knock'd on Head by all possible ways of Violence and Surprize.

I do not prescribe Fire and Fagot, but as *Scipio* said of *Carthage*, *Dilenda est Carthago*; they are to be rooted out of this Nation, if ever we will live in Peace, serve God, or enjoy our own: As for the Manner, I leave it to those Hands who have a right to execute God's Justice on the Nation's and the Church's Enemies.

BUT if we must be frighted from this Justice, under the specious Pretences, and odious Sense of Cruelty, nothing will be effected: 'Twill be more Barbarous and Cruel to our own Children, and dear Posterity, when they shall reproach their Fathers, as we do ours, and tell us, 'You had an Opportunity to root out this cursed Race from the World, under the Favour and Protection of a true *English* Queen; and out of your foolish Pity you spared them, because, forsooth, you would not be Cruel, and now our Church is supprest and persecuted, our Religion tramp'l'd under Foot, our Estates plundred, our Persons imprisoned and dragg'd to Jails, Gibbets, and Scaffolds; your sparing this *Amalakite* Race is our De-

struction, your Mercy to them proves Cruelty to your poor Posterity.

How just will such Reflections be, when our Posterity shall fall under the merciless Clutches of this uncharitable Generation, when our Church shall be swallow'd up in Schism, Faction, Enthusiasme, and Confusion; when our Government shall be devolv'd upon Foreigners, and our Monarchy dwindled into a Republick.

'Twou'd be more rational for us, if we must spare this Generation, to summon our own to a general Massacre, and as we have brought them into the World Free, send them out so, and not betray them to Destruction by our supine negligence, and then cry *it is Mercy*.

*Moses* was a merciful meek Man, and yet with what Fury did he run thro' the Camp, and cut the Throats of Three and thirty thousand of his dear *Israelites*, that were fallen into Idolatry; what was the reason? 'twas Mercy to the rest, to make these be Examples, to prevent the Destruction of the whole Army.

How many Millions of future Souls we save from Infection and Delusion, if the present Race of poison'd Spirits were purg'd from the Face of the Land.



'Tis vain to trifle in this matter, the light foolish handling of them by Mulcts, Fines, &c., 'tis their Glory and their Advantage; if the Gallows instead of the Counter, and the Gallows instead of the Fines, were the Reward of going to a Conventicle, to preach or hear, there wou'd not be so many Sufferers, the Spirit of Martyrdom is over; they that will go to Church to be chosen Sheriffs and Mayors, would go to forty Churches rather than be Hang'd.

If one severe Law were made, and punctually executed, that who ever was found at a Conventicle, shou'd be Banish'd the Nation, and the Preacher be Hang'd, we shou'd soon see an end of the Tale, they wou'd all come to Church; and one Age wou'd make us all One again.

To talk of 5s. a Month for not coming to the Sacrament, and 1s. *per* Week for not coming to Church, this is such a way of converting People as never was known, this is selling them a Liberty to transgress for so much Money: If it be not a Crime, why don't we give them full Licence? And if it be, no Price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is selling a Liberty to People to sin against God and the Government.

If it be a Crime of the highest Consequence, both against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, the Glory of God, the Good of the Church, and the Happyness of the Soul, let us rank it among capital Offences, and let it receive a Punishment in proportion to it.

We Hang Men for Trifles, and Banish them for things not worth naming, but an Offence against God and the Church, against the Welfare of the World, and the Dignity of Religion, shall be bought off for 5s. This is such a shame to a Christian Government, that 'tis with regret I transmit it to Posterity.

IF Men sin against God, affront his Ordinances, rebell against his Church, and disobey the Precepts of their Superiors, let them suffer as such capital Crimes deserve, so will Religion flourish, and this divided Nation be once again united.

And yet the Title of Barbarous and Cruel will soon be taken off from this Law too. I am not supposing that all the Dissenters in *England* shou'd be Hang'd or Banish'd, but as in cases of Rebellions and Insurrections, if a few of the Ring-leaders suffer, the Multitude are dismiss, so a few obstinate People

being made Examples there's no doubt but the Severity of the Law would find a stop in the Compliance of the Multitude.

To make the reasonableness of this matter out of question, and more unanswerably plain, let us examine for what it is that this Nation is divided into Parties and Factions, and let us see how they can justify a Separation, or we of the Church of *England* can justify our bearing the Insults and Inconveniences of the Party.

ONE of their leading Pastors, and a Man of as much Learning as most among them, in his Answer to a Pamphlet, entituled, *A Enquiry into the occasional Conformity*, hath these words, p. 27. *Do the Religion of the Church and the Meeting-houses make two Religions? Wherein do they differ? The Substance of the same Religion is common to them both; and The Modes and Accidents are the things in which only they differ. P. 28. Thirty nine Articles are given us for the summary of our Religion, Thirty six contain the Substance of it, wherein we agree; Three the additional Appendices, about which we have some differences.*

Now, if as by their own acknowledgment, the

Church of *England* is a true Church, and the Difference between them is only a few *Modes and Accidents*, why shou'd we expect that they will suffer Gallows and Gallies, corporeal Punishment and Banishment for these Trifles, there is no question but they will be wiser; even their own Principles won't bear them out in it, they will certainly comply with the Laws, and with Reason, and tho' at the first, Severity may seem hard, the next Age will feel nothing of it; the Contagion will be rooted out; the Disease being cur'd, there will be no need of the Operation, but if they should venture to transgress, and fall into the Pit, all the World must condemn their Obstinacy, as being without Ground from their own Principles.

Thus the Pretence of Cruelty will be taken off, and the Party actually suppress, and the Disquiets they have so often brought upon the Nation, prevented.

THEIR Numbers and their Wealth, makes them Haughty, and that is so far from being an Argument to perswade us to forbear them, that 'tis a Warning to us, without any more delay, to reconcile them to the Unity of the Church, or remove them from us.

AT present, Heaven be prais'd, they are not so Formidable as they have been,<sup>1</sup> and 'tis our own fault if ever we suffer them to be so; Providence, and the Church of *England*, seems to join in this particular, that now the Destroyers of the Nations Peace may be overturn'd, and to this end the present Opportunity seems to be put into our Hands.

To this end her present Majesty seems reserv'd to enjoy the Crown, That the Ecclesiastick as well as Civil Rights of the Nation may be restor'd by her Hand.

To this end the Face of Affairs have receiv'd such a Turn in the process of a few Months, as never has been before; and leading Men of the Nation, the universal Cry of the People, the unanimous Request of the Clergy, agree in this, that the Deliverance of our Church is at hand.

For this end has Providence given us such a Parliament, such a Convocation, such a Gentry, and such a Queen as we never had before.

AND what may be the Consequences of a Neglect of such Opportunities? The Succession of the Crown has but a dark Prospect,<sup>2</sup> another

<sup>1</sup> Dissent steadily declined after the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> All Anne's children had died before she ascended the throne.

*Dutch* Turn may make the Hopes of it ridiculous, and the Practice impossible: Be the House of our future Princes never so well inclin'd, they will be Foreigners; and many Years will be spent in suiting the Genius of Strangers to the Crown, and to the Interests of the Nation; and how many Ages it may be before the *English* Throne be fill'd with so much Zeal and Candour, so much Tenderness, and hearty Affection to the Church, as we see it now cover'd with, who can imagine.

'Tis high time then for the Friends of the Church of *England*, to think of Building up, and Establishing her, in such a manner, that she may be no more Invaded by Foreigners, nor Divided by Factions, Schisms, and Error.

IF this cou'd be done by gentle and easy Methods, I shou'd be glad, but the Wound is coroded, the Vitals begin to mortifie, and nothing but Amputation of Members can compleat the Cure; all the ways of Tenderness and Compassion, all perswasive Arguments have been made use of in vain.

THE Humour of the Dissenters has so increas'd among the People, that they hold

the Church in Defiance, and the House of God is an Abomination among them: Nay, they have brought up their Posterity in such pre-possessed Aversions to our Holy Religion, that the ignorant Mob think we are all Idolaters, and Worshippers of Baal; and account it is a Sin to come within the Walls of our Churches.

The primitive Christians were not more shie of a Heathen-Temple, or of Meat offer'd to Idols, nor the *Jews* of Swine's-Flesh, than some of our Dissenters are of the Church, and the Divine Service solemnized therein.

THIS Obstinacy must be rooted out with the Profession of it, while the Generation are left at liberty daily to affront God Almighty, and Dishonour his Holy Worship, we are wanting in our Duty to God, and our Mother the Church of *England*.

How can we answer it to God, to the Church, and to our Posterity, to leave them entangled with Fanaticisme, Error, and Obstinacy, in the Bowels of the Nation; to leave them an Enemy in their Streets, and in time may involve them in the same Crimes, and endanger the utter Extirpation of Religion in the Nation.

WHAT'S the Difference betwixt this, and being subjected to the Power of the Church of *Rome*, from whence we have reform'd? If one be an extreme on one Hand, and one on another, 'tis equally destructive to the Truth, to have Errors settled among us, let them be of what Nature they will.

Both are Enemies of our Church, and of our Peace, and why shou'd it not be as criminal to admit an Enthusiast as a Jesuit? Why shou'd the *Papist* with his Seven Sacraments be worse than the *Quaker* with no Sacraments at all? Why shou'd Religious-houses be more intollerable than Meeting-houses—*Alas the Church of England!* What with Popery on one Hand, and Schismaticks on the other; how has she been Crucify'd between two Thieves.

Now *let us Crucifie the Thieves*. Let her Foundations be establish'd upon the Destruction of her Enemies: The Doors of Mercy being always open to the returning Part of the deluded People: Let the Obstinate be rul'd with the Rod of Iron.

Let all true Sons of so Holy an Oppressed Mother, exasperated by her Afflictions, harden their Hearts against those who have oppress'd her.



*And may God Almighty put it into the Hearts of all the Friends of Truth, to lift up a Standard against Pride and Antichrist, that the Posterity of the Sons of Error may be rooted out from the Face of this Land for ever.—*

## XIV

### CHARLES LESLIE

[Charles Leslie the Nonjuror (1650-1722), one of the ablest and most prolific of pamphleteers, distinguished himself by his controversies with the Quakers (*Snake in the Grass, &c.*) and Deists (*Short and Easy Method with the Deists*), and indeed with most other people who disagreed with him. He also wrote several larger books both on political and religious subjects. He was suspended for refusing the oath of allegiance at the Revolution. In 1710 a warrant was issued for his arrest, and next year he escaped to the Court of St Germain, but returned soon as 'Mr White': in 1713 he went again to the Pretender. The Non-jurors clung fondly to the hope that the Pretender would change his religion, and Leslie was commissioned by them to win him over to the English Church. Had Leslie succeeded there is little doubt but that England would have welcomed a Stuart king on the death of Anne.

Leslie was warmly praised by Swift, and Dr Johnson said of him that he was 'a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against.' He is an interesting type of the extreme political High Churchman whom Defoe parodied in the *Shortest Way* and answered in the *Challenge of Peace*.]

FROM  
'THE WOLF STRIPT  
of His Shepherd's Cloathing.'  
By One Call'd an High-Church-Man  
1704.

A Character of the High and the Low-Church-  
Men.

No Man thinks it a Disparagement to be *High*, that is, *Zealous* in any good thing, in our *Duty to God*, in our *Love to our Countrey*, or to our *Friend*. To be called, *Low*, that is *Indifferent* in such things, is the greatest *Reflection* we can put upon any Body. How then can the Name of a *Low-Church-man* be *Honourable*, when the Name of a *Low-Friend* is so contemptible? To have a *Low* Regard for the *Church*, or to wish her *Low*! In what Sense can this be *Justified*? Or the other *Condemned*, of being an *High-Church-man*? When *Love* begins to run *Low*, then comes *Indifferency*, and generally after that an *Aversion*!

But how can we *Love* one, and *Hate* another, for the self same thing? To cry out upon the *Papists*, and yet justify the *Dissenters* for the same *Doctrines*? To have no Mercy upon *James Lainez*, the *General* of the *Jesuits* for

his *Speech* at the *Council of Trent*, against the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*: And yet to *Justifie* the *Dissenters*, and make it the Honourable Character of a *Low-Church-Man*, to repeat over his *Arguments*? The *Presbyterians* have borrow'd all their *Arguments* against *Episcopacy* from the *Jesuits* and the *Regulars*,<sup>1</sup> of the *Church of Rome*, who are nothing else but *Popish Presbyterians*; and the *Presbyterians* are *Protestant Jesuits*. For what is *Presbytery*, but *Presbyters* without *Bishops*? And such are the *Regulars*.

This is as to the *Church*. Then for the *State*, the *Deposing Doctrine*, and placing the *Power* in the *People*, is but the *Spittle* of the *Papists* and *Jesuits*, which our *Whigs* and *Dissenters* have *Lick't* up (which is well observ'd by the Lord Bishop of *Sarum*, See hereafter), p. 55. Concerning their Agreement in this, and many other *Popish* Doctrines, see *Lysimachus Nicanor*, Printed 1640. In answer to the many Treasonable *Pamphlets* then spread abroad, as *Preparatives* for the *Rebellion* that did follow. And when the like *Pamphlets* came Abroad again, in the years 1681, and 1682, to

<sup>1</sup> Regulars are members of the religious orders. Leslie means that those orders, and especially the Jesuits, have been prone to establish an *imperium in imperio*, dominating the Bishops, and even the Pope himself.

make way for the *Rye-house Conspiracy* (as hereafter is Observ'd) then this of their Agreement with the *Papists* in these *Treasonable Tenets* was again expos'd, as by *Dugdale*<sup>1</sup> in his *Short View of the late Trouble in England*, Printed, 1651, p. 16, 17, &c., by Dr *Pelling* in his *Apostat Protestant*,<sup>2</sup> Printed 1682, and Reprinted 1683. And by others, in Answer to these Wicked *Pamphlets* sent forth to sow *Sedition*. And have not been *Reply'd* to by the *Dissenters*, for they Cannot. It is *Matter of Fact*, as Plain as the *Sun at Noon-Day!* Yet all this hinders not their *re-printing* the same their *Hellish Doctrines*, now at this time, more vehemently, and in greater *Numbers* than ever. For what End, may be guess'd at by what follows. *Principles* produce *Practises*, as the *Cause* does its *Effect*.

Yet there is a Difference to be made, as of different *Soils*, which produce not the same *Crop*, tho' sow'd with the same *Seed*. Some are *Evil Natures*, which drink in the *Diabolical Seed* with Greediness; and bring forth *Fruit of Blood, Massacre*, and all *Wickedness*. Others

<sup>1</sup> Sir William, author of the *Monasticcn*. The *Short View* is a vehement and one-sided book.

<sup>2</sup> The *Apostat* was called forth by the reprinting of the Jesuit Parsons' *Conference about the Succession of the Crown*. It is an attack on the Exclusion Bill.

again are of *Good* and *Gentle Natures*, who may be drawn in by *Company*, *Education*, or *Weakness of Judgment*, not fore-seeing the *Consequence* of such *Principles*, and carry'd away with the *Fair Pretences* and *Specious Colours* that are put upon them. But when they come to see the *Dismal* Effects, are struck with *Horror*, and give back! And then are Prosecuted by their own *Party* worse than their open and avow'd *Enemies*. See hereafter.

These are men for whom we have great *Tenderness* and *Compassion*, and endeavour to pluck them out of the *Fire*, by a *Fair* and *Free* Representation of the *Fallacies* of those *Principles* they have Imbib'd! And of the former wicked *Practises* of that *Faction*, in which they are Engag'd, and never yet fail'd to *Execute*, when it was in their Power.

This is the Method which the *High-Church-Men* do use, towards reclaiming of these *well-meaning*, but *mis-led* People. And this is the Reason why that *Opprobrious* Name (as some think it) is given to them, because they Represent things *Highly*, that is, *Fully* true. They *Abate* not, nor *Moderate*, nor *Mollifie*, that is, they will not *Lye*.—First, to *strengthen* the *Hands* of the *Wicked* and *Designing* of the

*Faction*; and to put us from off our *Guard* against them: And, in the next Place, to give the as yet *Innocent* and *Deluded* among them, a less *Abhorrent* Notion of them, and to sow *Pillows* under their *Arms*; which is the Method taken by the *Low-Church* to *Reclaim* them! And this they call *Moderation*.

But they go farther. They Re-present the *Dissenters* as a *Conscientious* and *Loyal* People, that have no ill *Designs* either against the *Church* or the *Monarchy*.

On the other hand, they draw such a *Picture* of the *High-Church*, as to *Fright* all Mankind from Coming near them! They make them the most *Profligate Villains* that ever the Earth bore, Men of *Debauch'd Consciences*, of the *Grossest Im-Moralities*, &c., as you will see in what follows, p. 17, 18.

They Profess themselves Ready to joyn with the *Dissenters* in *Confederacy* against the *High-Church*, that is, They have done it already!

They think *Episcopacy* an *Indifferent* thing, and only a *State-point* amongst Us.

They have no Notion of *God's* having Appointed any *Order of Man* to *Represent* Him, to *Transact* betwixt *Him*, and the *People*, to *Sign* and *Seal* His *Covenants* with them, and to *Bless* in His *Name*. Or, they think, that

any One may take this *Honour* to Himself, or be *Impower'd* thereunto by the *People*, by any the *Vilest* of them! They think that this can be *Conferr'd* without *Episcopal* Ordination, which has been from the *Apostles* Days the *Way* of the Whole *Earth*; And the first who *Broach'd* the *Contrary*, *Aerius* an *Ambitious Presbyter*, in the *Fourth Century*, was *Condemn'd* as an *Heretick*. Whose *Heresie* is *Now* *Reviv'd* amongst *Us*.

They think the *Christian Priesthood* is not, so *Sacred* a thing as was that of the *Levitical*. And that the *Sin* of *Korah* cannot be *Re-Acted* under the *Gospel*, tho' *St Jude* *Speaks* of those who *Perish* in it; And all the *Fathers* after who wrote of *Schism*.

They have *Reduc'd* every thing in the *Church*, both as to her *Government*, *Lyturgie*, and all *Holy Offices*, all *Outward Institutions*, to a *WILD Enthusiasm*,<sup>1</sup> to what they call the *Life* of *God* in the *Soul*, to the *QUAKER Light Within*, to all the *Extravagancies* of the *POPISH Mysticks*.

They have left no one *Stone* upon another in the *Church*, as an *Outward Visible Society*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Enthusiasm' does not here bear the modern sense of zeal, but it is nearer to the literal meaning (*en. theos*), and may be rendered 'the fanaticism inspired by a belief in the God within one' (p. 215).



Which cannot be without *Government*. And that fix'd and Settled. Where the Government is *Praecarious*, that *Society* must be in a *Tottering* Condition. But these Men make nothing of *Christianity* but a *Sect*, like that of an *Epicurean*, a *Stoick*, or an *Academick* among the *Philosophers*, to which there go's no More than to be of this or that *Opinion*; and they might Change from One to Another, ten times a Day, or, as a Man may Change his *Lawyer* or *Physician*, without any *Hazard* or *Penalty*; So this Book of *Moderation* says (as you will see hereafter) a Man may Change *Churches*, and go from One to Another, Provided only that *Christianity* be Taught, that is indeed, They know nothing of a *Church*, as a *Society*, with *Authority* of *Admitting* or *Excluding*; for who can *Excommunicate* me from my own *Thoughts*! And if I *Believe* the General *Doctrines* of *Christianity*, I am of the *Church*, in these Mens Opinion, tho' I stand *Excommunicated* from all the *Churches* in the World, and that for my open *Contempt* of their *Authority*, and setting up what *Schismatical Congregations* I please, in *Opposition* to them; and thinking that I and my *Fellows* can *Constitute* a *Church* by our selves, as well as any of them.

These are the Men of *Moderation!* Of *Large Thoughts!* Of *Universal Comprehensive Charity!*

But if any one Talks of the *Church*, of any *Authority* Committed to Her by *Christ*, of any *Governours* or *Government* Settld by *Him*, the Deduc'd through the whole *Christian World*, all the way down from the Days of the *Apostles*; or speaks of any *Schism* made against this *Church*, or *Disobedience* to her, all such are call'd *High-Church-Men*, *Incendiaries*, *Enemies* to *Peace* and *Union*, and not fit to *Live* upon the *Earth!* And as such they are Treated in this Book of *Moderation*.

But the *High-Church*, notwithstanding of all the *Scandals* cast upon them, are far from the Men they are Represented to be; there are None more Desirous of the *Reconciliation* of the *Dissenters*, because None are so Sensible of the *Dangerous* State that they are in, by their *Schism* from *Episcopacy*, which is, from the *Catholick-Church*, of all Ages. And they would go as far as Possible to Purchase their *Union* with the *Church* upon any Terms that wou'd not Throw our selves out of it with them; that wou'd Leave any Notion of a *Church* in being. And it is the Labours of the *High-Church* which have, with the Good

Blessing of God, brought over so many of them to the *Church*, by Representing their *Errors* to them. But *Soothing* them where they are, is not the Way to do it. It is the greatest *Hindrance* can be to them, by making them Believe that they are in a *Safe* Condition; why then shou'd they Change? Indeed the Apparent *Designs* of the *Low Church* are to bring *Us* to *Them*, not *Them* to *Us*.

\* \* \* \* \*

## XV

### JONATHAN SWIFT

[Swift was born 1667, and died 1745 ; he was of English extraction, though born and educated in Dublin. As a pamphleteer it may be said of him that no man exercised more influence by this kind of writing than he ; and, as he was our greatest satirist, so he was our greatest pamphleteer. It need only be added here that the popular idea of his irreligion is without foundation. Like other wits he was often misunderstood ; but it is known that he made himself a little oratory in the Deanery at Dublin, and made considerable use of it for private devotion. To him also belongs the credit of having first aroused public attention to the absence of churches in the new parts of London, ‘where a single minister with one or two curates has the care sometimes of 20,000 souls incumbent on him,’ and ‘five parts out of six of the people are absolutely hindered from hearing divine service.’]

AN ARGUMENT TO PROVE, THAT  
THE ABOLISHING OF CHRISTIANITY  
IN ENGLAND, May, as Things now stand, be  
attended with some Inconveniences, and  
perhaps not produce those many Good  
Effects proposed thereby.

London, 1708.

I AM very sensible what a Weakness and Pre-  
sumption it is, to reason against the general  
Humour and Disposition of the World. I  
remember it was with great Justice, and a due  
Regard to the Freedom both of the Publick  
and the Press, forbidden upon several Penalties  
to Write, or Discourse, or lay Wagers against  
the ——<sup>1</sup> even before it was confirmed by  
Parliament, because that was look'd upon as  
a Design, to oppose the Current of the People ;  
which, besides the Folly of it, is a manifest  
Breach of the Fundamental Law, that makes  
this Majority of Opinion the Voice of God. In  
like manner, and for the very same Reasons,  
it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent  
to argue against the Abolishing of Christianity ;  
at a Juncture, when all Parties seem so unani-  
mously determined upon the Point, as we  
cannot but allow from their Actions, Discourses,  
and their Writings. However, I know not how,  
whether from the Affectation of Singularity, or  
the Perverseness of Human Nature, but so it  
unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely  
of this Opinion. Nay, though I were sure an  
Order were issued out for my immediate Prose-  
cution by the Attorney-General, I should still  
confess, that in the present Posture of our

<sup>1</sup> *Union* is the missing word.

Affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet see the absolute Necessity of extirpating the Christian Religion from among us.

THIS, perhaps, may appear too great a Paradox, even for our wise and paradoxical Age to endure ; therefore I shall handle it with all Tenderness, and with the utmost Deference to that great and profound Majority which is of another Sentiment.

AND yet the Curious may please to observe, how much the Genius of a Nation is liable to alter in half an Age. I have heard it affirmed for certain by some very old People, that the contrary Opinion was, even in their Memories, as much in Vogue as the other is now ; and, That a Project for the Abolishing of Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought so absurd, as it would beat this Time, to Write or Discourse in its Defence.

THEREFORE I freely own, That all Appearances are against me. The System of the Gospel, after the Fate of other Systems, is generally antiquated and exploded ; and the Mass or Body of the Common People, among whom it seems to have had its latest Credit,

are now grown as much ashamed of it as their Betters. Opinions, like Fashions, always descending from those of Quality to the Middle Sort, and from thence to the Vulgar, where at length they are dropt and vanish.<sup>1</sup>

BUT here I would not be mistaken, and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a Distinction from the Writers on the other side, when they make a Difference betwixt Nominal and Real *Trinitarians*. I hope no Reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the Defence of Real Christianity, such as used in Primitive Times (if we may believe the Authors of those Ages) to have an Influence upon Mens Belief and Actions: To offer at the Restoring of That would indeed be a wild Project; it would be to digg up Foundations, to destroy at one Blow all the Wit, and half the Learning of the Kingdom; to break the entire

<sup>1</sup> Swift hardly exaggerates the unbelief of his age. Compare the famous passage in Bishop Butler's Advertisement to the *Analogy* twenty years later (1736). 'It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious,' &c. Archbishop Wake and Bishop Warburton spoke quite as strongly about the general unfaithfulness; while Voltaire wrote that there was only just enough religion left in England to distinguish Tories who had little from Whigs who had less.

Frame and Constitution of Things, to ruin Trade, extinguish Arts and Sciences, with the Professors of them; in short, to turn our Courts, Exchanges, and Shops, into Desarts; and would be full as absurd as the Proposal of *Horace* where he advises the *Romans*, all in a Body, to leave their City, and seek a new Seat in some remote Part of the World, by way of a Cure for the Corruption of their Manners.

THEREFORE I think this Caution was in it self altogether unnecessary (which I have inserted only to prevent all Possibility of Cavilling) since every candid Reader will easily understand my Discourse to be intended only in Defence of Nominal Christianity, the other having been for some time wholly laid aside by general Consent, as utterly inconsistent with all our present Schemes of Wealth and Power.

BUT why we should therefore cast off the Name and Title of Christians, although the general Opinion and Resolution be so Violent for it, I confess I cannot (with Submission) apprehend the Consequence necessary. However, since the Undertakers propose such Wonderful Advantages to the Nation by this



Project, and advance many plausible Objections against the Systems of Christianity, I shall briefly consider the Strength of both, fairly allow them their greatest Weight, and offer such Answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew what Inconveniencies may possibly happen by such an Innovation, in the present Posture of our Affairs.

*First*, ONE great Advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity is, That it would very much enlarge and establish Liberty of Conscience, that great Bulwark of our Nation, and of the Protestant Religion, which is still too much limited by Priest-craft, notwithstanding all the good Intentions of the Legislature, as we have lately found by a Severe Instance. For it is confidently reported, that two Young Gentlemen of real Hopes, bright Wit, and profound Judgment, who<sup>1</sup> upon a thorough Examination of Causes and Effects, and by the meer Force of natural Abilities, without the least Tincture of Learning, having made a Discovery, that there was no God, and generously communicating their Thoughts for the Good of the Publick; were some time

<sup>1</sup> The *Who* is redundant.

ago, by an unparalleled Severity, and upon I know not what obsolete Law, broke for Blasphemy. And as it hath been wisely observed, if Prosecution once begins, no Man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

IN answer to all which, with Deference to wiser Judgments, I think this rather shews the Necessity of a Nominal Religion among us. Great Wits love to be free with the highest Objects; and if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will speak Evil of Dignities, abuse the Government, and reflect upon the Ministry, which I am sure few will deny to be of much more pernicious Consequence, according to the Saying of *Tiberius, Deorum Offensa Diis curæ*. As to the particular Fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one Instance, perhaps another cannot be produced, yet (to the Comfort of all those who may be apprehensive of Persecution) Blasphemy we know is freely spoke a Million of Times in every Coffee-House and Tavern, or where-ever else good Company meet. It must be allowed indeed, that to Break an *English* Free-born Officer only for Blasphemy, was, to speak the gentlest of such an Action, a very high strain of absolute

Power. Little can be said in Excuse for the General; Perhaps he was afraid it might give Offence to the Allies, among whom, for ought we know, it may be the Custom of the Country to believe a God. But if he argued, as some have done, upon a mistaken Principle, that an Officer who is guilty of speaking blasphemy, may some time or other proceed so far as to raise a Mutiny, the Consequence is by no means to be admitted; For, surely, the commander of an *English* Army is like to be but ill obeyed, whose Soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

IT is further objected against the Gospel-System, that it obliges Men to the Belief of Things too difficult for free Thinkers, and such as have shook off the Prejudices that usually cling to a confined Education. To which I answer, that Men should be cautious how they raise Objections which reflect upon the Wisdom of the Nation. Is not Every Body freely allowed whatever he pleases, and to publish his Belief to the World whenever he thinks fit, especially if it serves to strengthen the Party which is in the Right? Would any indifferent Foreigner, who should read the Trumpery lately written by *Asgill*, *Tindall*,

*Toland, Coward*,<sup>1</sup> and Forty more, imagine the Gospel to be our Rule of Faith, and to be confirmed by Parliaments? Does any Man either Believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he Believes, one Syllable of the Matter? and is any Man worse received upon that Score? or does he find his Want of Nominal Faith a Disadvantage to him in the Pursuit of any Civil or Military Employment? What if there be an old dormant Statute or two against him, are they not now obsolete, to a degree, that *Empson* and *Dudley*<sup>2</sup> themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in Execution.

It is likewise urged, that there are, by Computation, in this Kingdom, above Ten thousand Parsons whose Revenues added to those of my Lords and Bishops, would suffice to maintain at least Two hundred Young Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure, and Free-thinking

<sup>1</sup> Tindall and Toland, the Deist writers, made a great assault against revealed religion about the end of the XVII. Century. Toland died in 1696, Tindall in 1730; and before the middle of the Century Deism itself had died out. Asgill, born 1738, was an eccentric writer, much praised for his style by Coleridge, who wrote a famous book to prove that Death was not obligatory on Christians. Coward (d. 1725) was a physician, who wrote heretical books about the immortality of the soul.

<sup>2</sup> The extortionate agents of Henry VII.

Enemies to Priest-craft, narrow Principles, Pedantry, and Prejudices, who might be an Ornament to the Court and Town: And then, again, so great a Number of able [bodied] Divines might be a Recruit to our Fleet and Armies. This indeed appears to be a Consideration of some Weight: But then, on the other side, several Things deserve to be considered likewise: As, First, Whether it may not be thought necessary that in certain Tracts of Country, like what we call Parishes, there should be one Man at least, of Abilities, to Read and Write. Then it seems a wrong Computation, that the Revenues of the Church throughout this Island would be large enough to maintain Two hundred Young Gentlemen, or even half that Number, after the present refined way of Living, that is, to allow each of them such a Rent, as in the modern Form of Speech, would make them Easy. But still there is in this Project a greater Mischief behind; And we ought to beware of the Woman's Folly, who killed the Hen that every Morning laid her a Golden Egg. For, pray what would become of the Race of Men in the next Age, if we had nothing to trust to besides the Scrophulous, consumptive Productions, furnished by our Men of Wit and

Pleasure, when having squandered away their Vigour, Health, and Estates, they are forced by some disagreeable Marriage to piece up their broken Fortunes, and entail Rottenness and Politeness on their Posterity? Now, here are Ten Thousand Persons, reduced by the wise Regulations of *Henry* the Eighth, to the Necessity of a low Dyet, and moderate Exercise, who are the only great Restorers of our Breed, without which the Nation would in an Age or two become but one great Hospital.

ANOTHER Advantage proposed by the Abolishing of Christianity is the clear Gain of one Day in Seven, which is now entirely lost, and consequently the Kingdom one Seventh less considerable in Trade, Business, and Pleasure; besides the Loss to the Publick of so many Stately Structures, now in the Hands of the Clergy, which might be converted into Play-Houses, Exchanges, Market-Houses, common Dormitories, and other Publick Edifices.

I HOPE I shall be forgiven a hard Word, if I call this a perfect Cavil. I readily own, there hath been an old Custom Time out of Mind, for People to assemble in the Churches

every *Sunday*, and that Shops are still frequently shut, in order as it is conceived, to preserve the Memory of that Antient Practice; but how this can prove a Hinderance to Business or Pleasure, is hard to imagine. What if the Men of Pleasure are forced one Day in the Week to Game at Home instead of the *Chocolate-House*? Are not the *Taverns* and *Coffee-Houses* open? Can there be a more convenient Season for taking a Dose of Physick? Are fewer Claps got upon *Sundays* than other Days? Is not that the chief Day for Traders to sum up the Accounts of the Week, and for Lawyers to prepare their Briefs? But I would fain know, how it can be pretended that the Churches are misapplied. Where are more Appointments and Rendezvouses of Gallantry? Where more care to appear in the foremost Box with greater Advantage of Dress? Where more Meetings for Business? Where more Bargains driven of all Sorts? and, Where so many Conveniencies or Incitements to Sleep?

THERE is one Advantage greater than any of the fore-going, proposed by the Abolishing of Christianity, That it will utterly extinguish Parties among us, by removing those Factious

Distinctions of HIGH and Low Church, of WHIG and TORY, *Presbyterian* and *Church of ENGLAND*, which are now so many mutual Clogs upon Publick Proceedings, and are apt to prefer the gratifying themselves or depressing their Adversaries, before the most important Interest of the State.

I CONFESS, if it were certain, That so great an Advantage would redound to the Nation by this Expedient, I would submit and be silent: But will any Man say, That if the Words, *Whoring, Drinking, Cheating, Lying, Stealing*, were by Act of Parliament ejected out of the *English* Tongue and Dictionaries, we should all awake next Morning Chaste and Temperate, Honest and Just, and Lovers of Truth. Is this a fair Consequence? Or if the Physician would forbid us to pronounce the Words *Pox, Gout, Rheumatism*, and *Stone*, would that Expedient serve, like so many *Talismans*, to destroy the Diseases themselves? Are Party and Faction rooted in Mens Hearts no deeper than Phrases borrowed from Religion, or founded upon no firmer Principles? And is our Language so poor, that we cannot find other Terms to express them? Are Envy, Pride, Avarice, and



Ambition, such ill Nomenclators, that they cannot furnish Appellations for their Owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamalukes*, *Mandarins* and *Patshaws*, or any other Words, formed at Pleasure, serve to distinguish those, who are in the Ministry, from others who would be in it if they could? What, for instance, is easier than to vary the Form of Speech, and instead of the word CHURCH, make it a question in Politicks, Whether the MONUMENT be in Danger?<sup>1</sup> Because Religion was nearest at hand to furnish a few convenient Phrases, is our Invention so barren, we can find no others? Suppose for Argument Sake, That the TORIES favoured *Margarita*,<sup>2</sup> the WHIGS *Mrs Tofts*, and the TRIMMERS *Valentine*; Would not *Margaritians*, *Toftians*, and *Valentinians*, be very tolerable Marks of Distinction? The *Prasini* and *Venetis*, Two most Virulent Factions in *Italy*, began (if I remember right) by a Distinction of Colours in Ribbons, which we might do, with as good a Grace, about the

<sup>1</sup> 'The Church in Danger' was a common political cry in the earlier part of the XVIII. Century. It had enormous power, as *e.g.* in the Sacheverell episode, 1710.

<sup>2</sup> Francisca Margherita de l'Epine, Mrs Tofts, and the *alto* Valentino Urbini were three famous opera singers of the day.

Dignity of the BLUE and the GREEN; which may serve as properly to divide the Court, the Parliament, and the Kingdom between them, as any Terms of Art whatsoever, borrowed from Religion. And therefore I think there is little Force in this Objection against Christianity or Prospect of so great an Advantage as is proposed in the abolishing of it.

'TIS again objected, as a very absurd, ridiculous Custom, that a Set of Men should be suffered, much less employed and hired, to bawl one Day in Seven against the Lawfulness of those Methods most in use towards the Pursuit of Greatness, Riches, and Pleasure, which are the constant Practice of all Men alive on the other Six. But this Objection is, I think, a little unworthy so refined an Age as ours. Let us argue this Matter calmly: I appeal to the Breast of any polite Free-Thinker, whether in the Pursuit of gratifying a predominant Passion, he hath not always felt a wonderful Incitement, by reflecting it was a Thing forbidden: And therefore we see, in order to cultivate this Test, the Wisdom of the Nation hath taken special Care, that the Ladies should be furnished with

Prohibited Silks, and the Men with Prohibited Wine: And indeed it were to be wished, that some other Prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the Pleasures of the Town, which for want of such Expedience begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel Inroads from the Spleen.

'TIS likewise proposed as a great Advantage to the Publick, that if we once discard the System of the Gospel, all Religion will of Course be banished for ever, and consequently along with it, those grievous Prejudices of Education, which under the Names of Virtue, Conscience, Honour, Justice, and the like, are so apt to disturb the Peace of Human Minds, and the Notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated by right Reason or Free-Thinking, sometimes during the whole Course of our Lives.

HERE first I observe how difficult it is to get rid of a Phrase which the World is once grown fond of, though the Occasion that first produced it, be entirely taken away. For some Years past, if a Man had but an ill-favoured Nose, the deep Thinkers of the Age would

some way or other contrive to impute the Cause to the Prejudice of his Education. From this Fountain were said to be derived all our foolish Notions of Justice, Piety, Love of our Country, all our Opinions of God, or a Future State, of Heaven, Hell, and the like. And there might formerly perhaps have been some Pretence for this Charge. But, so effectual Care hath been since taken to remove those Prejudices, by an entire Change in the Methods of Education, (that with Honour I mention it to our polite Innovators) the Young Gentlemen, who are now on the Scene, seem to have not the least Tincture left of those Infusions, or String of those Needs, and by consequence the Reason for Abolishing Nominal Christianity, upon that Pretext, is wholly ceased.

For the rest, it may perhaps admit a Controversy, whether the Banishing all Notions of Religion whatsoever, would be convenient for the Vulgar. Not that I am in the least of Opinion with those who hold Religion to have been the Invention of Politicians, to keep the lower Part of the World in Awe by the Fear of Invisible Powers; unless Mankind were then very different from what it is now: For I

look upon the Mass or Body of our People here in *England*, to be as Free-Thinkers, that is to say, as stanch Unbelievers, as any of the highest Rank. But I conceive some scattered Notions about a Superiour Power, to be of singular Use for the Common People, as furnishing excellent Materials to keep Children quiet, when they grow peevish, and providing Topicks of Amusement in a tedious Winter Night.

LASTLY, It is proposed as a singular Advantage, that the Abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the Uniting of PROTESTANTS, by enlarging the Terms of Communion so as to take in all Sorts of DISSENTERS, who are now shut out of the Pale upon Account of a few Ceremonies, which all Sides confess to be Things indifferent: That this alone will effectually answer the great Ends of a Scheme for a COMPREHENSION, by opening a large noble Gate, at which all Bodies may enter; whereas the Chaffering with DISSENTERS, and dodging about this or the other Ceremony, is but like opening a few Wickets, and leaving them at jarr, by which no more than one can get in at a Time, and that, not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his Body.

To all this I answer, That there is one darling Inclination of Mankind, which usually affects to be a Retainer to Religion, though she be neither its Parent, its God-mother, nor its Friend ; I mean, the Spirit of Opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for instance, examine wherein the Opposition of Sectaries among us consist ; we shall find Christianity to have no Share in it at all. Does the Gospel any where prescribe a starched, squeezed Countenance, a stiff formal Gate, a Singularity of Manners and Habits, or any affected Forms and Modes of Speech, different from the reasonable Part of Mankind ? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its Name, to stand in the Gap, and to employ or divert these Humours, they must of Necessity be spent in Contraventions to the Laws of the Land, and Disturbance of the Publick Peace. There is a Portion of Enthusiasm assigned to every Nation, which if it hath not proper Objects to work on, will burst out, and set all into a Flame. If the Quiet of a State can be bought by only flinging Men a few Ceremonies to devour, it is a Purchase no wise man would refuse. Let the Mastiffs amuse themselves about a Sheeps-Skin stuffed with Hay, provided it will keep them from Worrying the

Flock. The Institution of Convents abroad, seems in one Point a Strain of great Wisdom, there being few Irregularities in humane Passions, which may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those Orders, which are so many Retreats for the Speculative, the Melancholy, the Proud, the Silent, the Politick, and the Morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the Noxious Particles; for each of whom we in this Island are forced to provide a several Sect of Religion, to keep them quiet; and whenever Christianity shall be abolished, the Legislature must find some other Expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it how large a Gate you open, if there will be always left a Number, who place a Pride and a Merit in not coming in?

HAVING thus considered the most important Objections against Christianity, and the chief Advantages proposed by the Abolishing thereof; I shall now with equal Deference and Submission to wiser Judgments, as before, proceed to mention a few Inconveniencies that may happen, if the Gospel should be repealed; which perhaps the Projectors may not have sufficiently considered.

AND first, I am very sensible how much the gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure are apt to murmur, and be choqued at the sight of so many daggel-tailed Parsons, that happen to fall in their Way, and offend their Eyes; but at the same time these wise Reformers do not consider, what an Advantage and Felicity it is, for great Wits to be always provided with Objects of Scorn and Contempt, in order to exercise and improve their Talents, and divert their Spleen from falling on each other or on themselves, especially when all this may be done without the least imaginable Danger to their Persons.

AND to urge another Argument of a parallel Nature. If Christianity were once abolished, how could the FREE-THINKERS, the Strong Reasoners, and the men of profound Learning, be able to find another Subject so calculated in all Points, whereon to display their Abilities? What wonderful Productions of Wit should we be deprived of, from those whose Genius, by continual Practice, hath been wholly turned upon Raillery and Invectives against Religion, and would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves upon any other Subject? We are daily complaining of the great Decline of Wit among us, and would we take away the



greatest, perhaps the only Topick we have left? Who would ever have suspected ASGILL for a Wit, or TOLAND for a Philosopher, if the inexhaustible Stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with Materials? What other Subject through all Art or Nature could have produced TINDALL for a profound Author, or furnished him with Readers? It is the Wise Choice of the Subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the Writer. For had a Hundred such Pens as these been employed on the side of Religion, they would have immediately sunk into Silence and Oblivion.

NOR do I think it wholly groundless, or my Fears altogether imaginary, that the Abolishing of Christianity may perhaps bring the CHURCH in Danger, or at least put the Senate to the Trouble of another Securing Vote. I desire I may not be mistaken; I am far from presuming to affirm, or to think, that the CHURCH is in Danger at present, or as Things now stand; but we know not how soon it may be so, when the Christian Religion is repealed. As plausible as this Project seems, there may be a dangerous Design lurk under it; Nothing can be more notorious than that the *Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Sub-

divisions of Free-Thinkers, are Persons of little Zeal for the present Ecclesiastical Establishment: Their declared Opinion is for repealing the Sacramental Test; they are very indifferent with regard to Ceremonies; nor do they hold the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy. Therefore they may be intended as one Politick Step towards altering the Constitution of the Church Established, and setting up *Presbytery* in the stead, which I leave to be further considered by those at the Helm.

IN the last Place, I think nothing can be more plain than, that by this Expedient, we shall run into the Evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the Abolishment of the *Christian* Religion, will be the readiest Course we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this Opinion, because we know it has been the constant Practice of the *Jesuits* to send over Emissaries, with Instructions to personate themselves Members of the several prevailing Sects amongst us. So it is recorded, that they have at sundry Times appeared in the Guise of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents* and *Quakers*, according as any of these were most in Credit; so, since the Fashion hath been taken up of exploding

Religion, the *Popish* Missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the Free-Thinkers; among whom, *Toland*, the great Oracle of the *Anti-Christians*, is an *Irish* Priest, the Son of an *Irish* Priest; and the most learned and ingenious Author of a Book called the *Rights of the Christian Church*, was in a proper Juncture reconciled to the *Romish* Faith, whose true Son, as appears by a hundred Passages in his Treatise, he still continues. Perhaps I could add some others to the Number; but the Fact is beyond Dispute and the Reasoning they proceed by is right: For supposing Christianity to be extinguished, the People will never be at Ease till they find out some other Method of Worship; which will as infallibly produce Superstition, as this will end in *Popery*.

AND therefore, if notwithstanding all I have said, it still be thought necessary to have a Bill brought in for repealing Christianity; I would humbly offer an Amendment; that instead of the Word, Christianity, may be put Religion in general, which I conceive will much better answer all the good Ends proposed by the Projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in being, a God and his Providence, with all the necessary Consequences which curious and

inquisitive Men will be apt to draw from such Premises, we do not strike at the Root of the Evil, though we should ever so effectually annihilate the present Scheme of the Gospel. For, of what use is Freedom of Thought, if it will not produce Freedom of Action, which is the sole End, how remote soever in Appearance, of all Objections against Christianity? And therefore, the Free-Thinkers consider it as a sort of Edifice, wherein all the Parts have such a mutual Dependence on each other, that if you happen to pull out one single nail, the whole Fabrick must fall to the Ground. This was happily express'd by him who had heard of a Text brought for proof of the Trinity, which in an antient Manuscript was differently read; He thereupon immediately took the Hint, and by a sudden Deduction of a long Series,<sup>1</sup> most Logically concluded; Why, if it be as you say, I may safely Whore and Drink on, and defy the Parson. From which, and many the like Instances easy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifest, than that the Quarrel is not against any particular Points of hard digestion in the Christian System, but against Religion in general, which by laying Restraints on human Nature, is supposed the

<sup>1</sup> Sorites.

great Enemy to the Freedom of Thought and Action.

UPON the whole, if it shall still be thought for the Benefit of Church and State, that Christianity be abolished; I conceive however, it may be more convenient to defer Execution to a time of Peace, and not Venture in this Conjunction to disoblige our Allies, who as it fall out, are all Christians, and many of them by the Prejudices of their Education so bigotted, as to place a sort of Pride in the Appellation. If upon being rejected by them, we are to trust to an Alliance with the *Turk*, we shall find our selves much deceived: For, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in War with the *Persian* Emperor, so his People would be more Scandalized at our Infidelity, than our Christian Neighbours. For they are not only strict Observers of Religious Worship; but what is worse, believe a God, which is more than is required of us even while we preserve the Name of Christians.

To conclude, Whatever some may think of the great Advantages to Trade by this favourite Scheme, I do very much apprehend,

that in Six Months time after the Act is past for the Extirpation of the Gospel the Bank, and *East-India* Stock, may fall at least One *per Cent.* And since that is Fifty times more than ever the Wisdom of our Age thought fit to venture for the Preservation of Christianity, there is no Reason we should be at so great a Loss meerly for the sake of destroying it.

## XVI

### WILLIAM LAW

[The author of the *Serious Call* lived from 1686-1761, and the *Letters to the Bishop of Bangor* were the first works he published. They were called forth by the famous controversy on the opinions of Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, which is known as the Bangorian Controversy. Hoadly had given expression, in a sermon preached before the King, March 31, 1717, to extreme Latitudinarian opinions, and the fury of churchmen descended at once upon him. In the dispute which followed there was a prodigious number of pamphlets, nearly 200 in all, written by 53 different writers. The result of the controversy was most unfortunate for the Church; for the Court, siding with the Bishop, had recourse to a characteristic act of Whig tyranny, and suppressed Convocation, destroying for a century and a half the representative voice of the Church.

Law's *Letters* to Hoadly are by far the most brilliant and lasting product of the dispute; they constitute also, says Canon Gore, an *ad hominem* argument of a Socratic kind which deserves study for its own sake. The cross-examination of the Bishop, he continues, 'is beyond question, a brilliant specimen of vigorous and racy rhetoric, put at the disposal of a clear-headed logic and a keen sense of the bearing of principles in all directions—it is such a specimen of rhetoric put at the service of close thought and intense feeling as a man may enjoy simply as an example of legitimate controversy, simply as an example of the play of

mind, of the sort of intellectual cross-examination of which popular teachers of all sorts stand in such constant need.' Redoubtable controversialist as Hoadly was, he never ventured to reply to Law, and we find Sherlock ironically congratulating the Bishop that he has had 'discretion enough to let some things go unanswered, and particularly Mr Law's two letters, a writer so considerable that I know but one good reason why he does not answer him.' Hoadly made himself very acceptable to the Court by his opinions, and did much political writing for his Whig patrons; he was rewarded by four bishoprics in succession—Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester. Bangor, which gives its name to the controversy, he never once visited, but retained during his episcopate his two livings in London.

Law led a quiet uneventful life, being a tutor to Gibbon, grandfather of the historian, for some time; his last twenty years were spent at Thrapston with Mrs Hutcheson and Miss Gibbon, in devotion, study, almsgiving, and seclusion.]

From

'A SECOND LETTER TO THE BISHOP  
OF BANGOR.'

By William Law, M.A., London, 1717.

MY LORD,

A Just Concern for Truth, and the First Principles of the Christian Religion, was the only Motive that engag'd me in the Examination of your Lordship's Doctrines in a Former Letter to your Lordship. And the same



Motive, I hope, will be thought a sufficient Apology for my presuming to give your Lordship the Trouble of a Second Letter.

Amongst the Vain Contemptible Things, whereof your Lordship would create an Abhorrence in the Layity, are, the *Trifles* and *Niceties of Authoritative Benedictions, Absolutions, Excommunications*.<sup>1</sup> Again, you say, that *to expect the Grace of God from any Hands, but his own, is to affront him*——.<sup>2</sup> And that *all depends upon God and ourselves; That Human Benedictions, Human Absolutions, Human Excommunications, have nothing to do with the Favour of God*.<sup>3</sup>

It is evident from these Maxims (for your Lordship asserts them as such) that whatever Institutions are observed in any Christian Society upon this Supposition, that thereby Grace is conferr'd thro' *Human Hands*, or by the Ministry of the Clergy, such Institutions ought to be condemn'd, and are condemn'd by your Lordship, as *trifling, useless, and affronting to God*.

There is an *Institution*, my Lord, in the *yet Establish'd Church of England*, which we call

<sup>1</sup> *Preservative*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *P.* 89.

<sup>3</sup> *P.* 101.

*Confirmation*: It is founded upon the express Words of Scripture, Primitive Observance and the Universal Practice of all succeeding Ages in the Church. The Design of this Institution is, that it should be a Means of conferring Grace, by the Prayer and Imposition of the *Bishops Hands* on those who have been already Baptized. But yet against all this Authority, both Divine and Human, and the express Order of our own Church, your Lordship teaches the Layity, *that all Human Benedictions are useless niceties; and that to expect God's Grace from any Hands but his own, is to affront him.*

If so, my Lord, what shall we say in Defence of the Apostles? We read (*Acts viii. 14*) that when *Philip* the Deacon had baptiz'd the *Samaritans*, the Apostles sent *Peter* and *John* to them, who having pray'd, and *laid their Hands on them, they receiv'd the Holy Ghost, who before was fallen upon none of them; only they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus.*

My Lord, several things are here out of Question; *First*, That something else, even in the Apostolical Times, was necessary, besides Baptism, in order to qualifie Persons to become

compleat Members of the Body, or Partakers of the Grace of Christ. They had been baptiz'd, yet did not receive the Holy Ghost, till the Apostles Hands were laid upon them. *2ndly*, That God's Graces are not only conferr'd by means of *Human Hands*; but of some particular Hands, and not others. *3dly*, That this Office was so strictly appropriated to the Apostles, or Chief Governours of the Church, that it could not be perform'd by Inspir'd Men, tho' empower'd to work Miracles, who were of an inferiour Order; as *Philip* the Deacon. *4thly*, That the Power of the Apostles for the Performance of this Ordinance, was intirely owing to their superiour Degree in the Ministry; and not to any extraordinary Gifts they were endow'd with: For then *Philip* might have perform'd it; who was not wanting in those Gifts, being himself an Evangelist, and Worker of Miracles: Which is a Demonstration, that his Incapacity arose from his inferiour Degree in the Ministry.

And now, my Lord, are all *Human Benedictions Niceties and Trifles*? Are the means of God's Grace in his *own Hands alone*? Is it wicked, and *affronting to God*, to suppose the contrary? How then comes *Peter* and

*John* to confer the Holy Ghost by the Imposition of their Hands? How comes it, that they appropriate this office to themselves? Is the Dispensation of God's Grace in his *own Hands alone*? And yet can it be dispens'd to us by the Ministry of some Persons, and not by that of others?

Were the Apostles so wicked, as to distinguish themselves by a Pretence to vain Powers, which God had reserv'd to himself? And which your Lordship supposes from the Title of your *Preservative*, that it is inconsistent with *Common Sense*, to imagine that God would, or could have communicated to Men.

Had any of your Lordship's well-instructed Layity liv'd in the Apostles Days, with what Indignation must they have rejected this senseless Chimerical *Claim* of the Apostles? They must have said, Why do you, *Peter* or *John*, pretend to this *Blasphemous Power*? *Whilst we believe the Gospel, we cannot expect the Grace of God from any Hands but his own.* You give us the *Holy Ghost*? You confer the Grace of God! Is it not impious to think, that *He should make our Improvement* in Grace

depend upon your Ministry; or hang our Salvation upon any *particular* Order of Clergymen? We know, that God is Just, and Good, and True, *and that all* depends upon Him and ourselves; and that *Human Benedictions* are *trifles*. Therefore whether you *Peter*, or you *Philip*, or both, or neither of you lay *your* Hands upon us, we are neither better nor worse; but just in the *same State of Grace* as we were before.

This Representation, has not one Syllable in it, but what is founded in your Lordship's Doctrine, and perfectly agreeable to it.

The late most Pious and Learned Bishop *Beveridge* has these remarkable Words upon *Confirmation*: 'How any Bishops in our Age dare neglect so considerable a Part of their Office, I know not; but fear, they will have no good Account to give of it, *when they come to stand before God's Tribunal.*'<sup>1</sup>

But we may justly, and therefore I hope, with Decency, ask your Lordship, how you dare perform this Part of your Office? For you

<sup>1</sup> First Volume of Sermons 'On the True Nature of the Christian Church.' Serm. I.

have condemn'd it as *Trifling* and *Wicked*; as *Trifling*, because it is an *Human Benediction*; as *Wicked*, because it supposes Grace conferr'd by the *Hands of the Bishop*. If therefore any baptiz'd Persons should come to your Lordship for Confirmation, if you are *sincere* in what you have deliver'd, your Lordship ought, I humbly conceive, to make them this Declaration :

‘ My Friends, for the sake of *Decency* and *Order*, I have taken upon me the Episcopal Character; and, according to Custom, which has long prevail'd against Common Sense, am now to lay my Hands upon you : But, I beseech you, as you have any Regard to the Truth of the Gospel, or to the Honour of God, not to imagine, there is any thing in this Action, more than an useless empty Ceremony : For if you expect to have any Spiritual Advantage from *Human Benedictions*, or to receive Grace from the Imposition of a Bishop's Hands, you affront God, and in effect, renounce Christianity.’

Pray, my Lord, consider that Passage in the Scripture, where the Apostle speaks of *Leading the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, and going on unto Perfection*; not *laying again the Foundation of Repentance from*

*dead Works, of Faith towards God, of the Doctrine of Baptisms, and of Laying on of Hands, and of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of eternal Judgment, (Heb. vi. 12).*

My Lord, here it is undeniably plain ; that this Laying on of Hands (which is with us called *Confirmation*) is so fundamental a Part of Christ's Religion, that it is called one of the First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ ; and is placed amongst us such primary Truths, as the Resurrection of the Dead, and of Eternal Judgment.

St *Cyprian* speaking of this Apostolical Imposition of Hands, says, *The same is now practis'd with us ; they who have been baptiz'd in the Church, are brought to the Presidents of the Church, that by our Prayer and Imposition of Hands, they may receive the Holy Ghost, and be consummated with the Lord's Seal.*

And must we yet believe, that all *Human Benedictions* are Dreams, and the Imposition of Human Hands trifling and useless ; and that to expect God's Graces from them, is to affront him ? Tho' the Scriptures expressly teach us, that God confers his Grace by means of certain

*particular Human Hands*, and not of others; tho' they tell us, this *Human Benediction*, this Laying on of Hands, is one of the first Principles of the Religion of Christ, and as much a Foundation Doctrine as the Resurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Judgment; and tho' every Age since that of the Apostles, has strictly observ'd it as such, and the Authority of our own Church still requires the Observance of it?

I come now, my Lord, to another Sacred and Divine Institution of Christ's Church, which stands expos'd and condemn'd by your Lordship's Doctrine; and that is, the *Ordination* of the Christian Clergy; where, by means of an Human Benediction, and the Imposition of the Bishop's Hands, the Holy Ghost is supposed to be conferr'd on Persons towards consecrating them for the Work of the Ministry.

We find it constantly taught by the Scriptures, that all Ecclesiastical Authority, and the Graces whereby the Clergy are qualified and enabl'd to exercise their Functions to the Benefit of the Church, are the Gifts and Graces of the Holy Spirit. Thus the Apostle exhorts the Elders *to take heed unto the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made them Over-*



*seers*, (Eph. iv. 7). But how, my Lord, had the Holy Ghost made them Overseers, but by the Laying on of the Apostles Hands? They were not immediately call'd by the Holy Ghost; but being consecrated by *such Human Hands* as had been authorized to that purpose, they were as truly call'd by him, and sanctified with Grace for that Employment, as if they had receiv'd an immediate or miraculous Commission. So again, St Paul puts *Timothy* in mind, to stir up the Gift of God that was in him, by laying on of his Hands, (2 Tim. ii. 6).

And now, my Lord, if *Human Benedictions* be such idle *Dreams* and *Trifles*; if it be *affronting to God*, to expect his Graces from them, or through *Human Hands*; do we not plainly want new Scriptures? Must we not give up the Apostles as Furious High-Church Prelates, who aspir'd to presumptuous Claims, and talk'd of conferring the Graces of God by their own Hands? Was not this Doctrine as strange and unaccountable then, as at present? Was it not as inconsistent with the Attributes and Sovereignty of God at that time, to have his Graces pass through other Hands than his own, as in any succeeding Age? Nay, my Lord, where shall we find

any Fathers or Councils, in the Primitive Church, but who own'd and asserted these Powers? They that were so ready to part with their Lives, rather than do the least Dishonour to God, or the Christian Name, yet were all guilty of *this horrid Blasphemy*, in imagining that they were to bless in God's Name; and that by the Benediction and Laying on of the Bishops Hands, the Graces of the Holy Ghost could be conferr'd on any Persons.

Agreeable to the Sence of Scripture and Antiquity, our Church uses this Form of Ordination: *The Bishop laying his Hands on the Person's Head, saith, Receive the Holy Ghost, for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, committed unto thee, by the Imposition of our Hands.* From this Form, it is plain, *First*, that our Church holds, that the Reception of the Holy Ghost is necessary to constitute a Person a Christian Priest. *2dly*, That the Holy Ghost is confer'd through *Human Hands*. *3dly*, That it is by the Hands of a Bishop that the Holy Ghost is confer'd.

If therefore your Lordship is right in your

Doctrine, the Church of *England* is evidently most corrupt. For if it be dishonourable and affronting to God, to expect his Grace from any Human Hands; it must of necessity be dishonourable and affronting to him, for a Bishop to pretend to confer it by his Hands. And can that Church be any ways defended, that has established such an Iniquity by Law, and made the Form of it so necessary? How can your Lordship answer it to your Layity, for taking the Character or Power of a Bishop from such a Form of Words? You tell them, it is affronting to God, to expect his Grace from *Human Hands*; yet to qualifie your self for a Bishoprick, you let Human Hands be laid on you, after a manner which directly supposes you thereby receive the Holy Ghost! It is wicked in them to expect it from *Human Hands*? And is it less so in your Lordship, to pretend to receive it from Human Hands? He that believes, it is affronting to God, to expect his Grace from Human Hands, must likewise believe, that our Form of Ordination, which promises the Holy Ghost by the Bishop's Hands, must be also affronting to God. Certainly, he cannot be said to be very jealous of the Honour of God, who will submit himself to be made a Bishop by a Form of Words

derogatory, upon his own Principles, to God's Honour.

Suppose your Lordship was to have been consecrated to the Office of a Bishop by these Words; *Take thou Power to sustain all things in Being given thee by my Hands.* I suppose, your Lordship would think it intirely Unlawful to submit to the Form of such an Ordination. But, *my Lord, receive thou the Holy Ghost, &c.,* is as impious a Form, according to your Lordship's Doctrine, and equally injurious to the Eternal Power and Godhead, as the other. For if the Grace of God can only be had from *his own* Hands, would it not be as innocent in the Bishop to say, *Receive thou Power to sustain all things in Being,* as to say, *Receive the Holy Ghost, by the Imposition of my Hands?* And would not a Compliance with either Form be equally unlawful? According to your Doctrine, in each of them God's Prerogative is equally invaded; and therefore the Guilt must be the same.

It may also well be wonder'd, how your Lordship can accept of a Character, which is, or ought to be chiefly distinguish'd by the

Exercise of that Power which you disclaim, as in the Offices of *Confirmation* and *Ordination*. For, my Lord, where can be the Sincerity of saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost by the Imposition of our Hands*, when you declare it affronting to God, to expect it from any Hands but his own? Suppose your Lordship had been preaching to the Layity against owning any Authority in the Virgin *Mary*; and yet should acquiesce in the Conditions of being made a Bishop in her Name, and by recognizing her Power: Could such a Submission be consistent with Sincerity? Here you forbid the Layity to expect God's Grace from any Hands but his; yet not only accept of an Office, upon Supposition of the contrary Doctrine; but oblige your self, according to the Sence of the Church wherein you are ordain'd a Bishop, to act frequently in direct Opposition to your own Principles.

So that, I think, it is undeniably plain, that you have at once, my Lord, by these Doctrines condemn'd the Scriptures, the Apostles, their martyr'd Successors, the Church of *England* and your own Conduct; and have herby given us some reason (tho' I wish, there were no Occasion to mention it) to suspect, whether

you, who allow of no other Church, but what is founded in Sincerity, are your self, really a Member of any Church.

I shall now proceed to say something upon the Consecration of the Lord's Supper; which is as much expos'd as a *Trifle*, by your Lordship's Doctrine, as the other Institutions. St *Paul* says, *The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ?* My Lord, is not this Cup still to be bless'd? Must there not therefore be such a thing as an *Human Benediction*? And are Human Benedictions to be all despis'd, though by them the Bread and Wine become Means of Grace, and are made the Spiritual Nourishment of our Souls? Can any one bless this Cup? If not, then there is a Difference between Human Benedictions: Some are authorized by God, and their Blessing is effectual; whilst others, only are vain and presumptuous. If the Prayer over the Elements, and the Consecration, be only a Trifle and a Dream; and it be offensive to God, to expect they are converted into Means of Grace by an Human Benediction; why then did St *Paul* pretend to bless them? Why did he make it the Privilege of the Church? Or, why do we

keep up the same Solemnity? But if it be to be bless'd only by God's Ministers, then how can your Lordship answer it to God, for ridiculing and abusing Human Benedictions; and telling the World, that a particular Order of the Clergy are not of any necessity, nor can be of any Advantage to them. For if the Sacrament can only be bless'd by God's Ministers; then such Ministers are as necessary, as the Sacraments themselves.

St *Paul* says, the Cup must be bless'd: If you say, any one may bless it, then, though you contemn the Benedictions of the Clergy, you allow of them by every body else: If every body cannot bless it; then, you must confess, that the Benedictions of some Persons are effectual, where others are not.

My Lord, the great Sin against the Holy Ghost, was the Denial of his Operation in the Ministry of our Saviour. And how near does your Lordship come to it, in denying the Operation of that same Spirit, in the Ministers whom Christ hath sent? They are employed in the same Work that he was. He left his Authority with them; and promis'd, that the Holy Spirit should remain with them

to the End of the World; that whatsoever they should bind on Earth, should be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever they should loose on Earth, should be loosed in Heaven; that whatsoever despises them, despises Him, and Him that sent him. And yet your Lordship tells us, we need not to trouble our Heads about any particular Sort of Clergy; that all is to be transacted betwixt God and our selves; that Human Benedictions are insignificant Trifles.

But pray, what Proof has your Lordship for all this? Have you any Scripture for it? Has God any where declar'd, that no Men on Earth have any Authority to bless in his Name? Has he any where said, that it is a wicked, presumptuous Thing for any one to pretend to it? Has he any where told us, that it is inconsistent with his Honour, to bestow his Graces by *Human Hands*? Has he any where told us, that he has no Ministers, no Embassadors on Earth; but that all his Gifts and Graces are to be receiv'd immediately from his own Hands? Have you any Antiquity, Fathers or Councils on your side? No: The whole Tenour of Scripture, the whole Current of Tradition is against you. Your Novel



Doctrine has only this, to recommend it to the Libertines of the Age, who universally give unto it, that it never was the Opinion of any Church, or Church-man. It is your Lordship's proper Assertion, *That we offend God in expecting his Graces from any Hands but his own.*

Now it's strange, that God should be offended with his own Methods; or that your Lordship should find us out a Way of pleasing him, more suitable to his Nature and Attributes, than what he has taught us in the Scriptures. I call them his own Methods: For what else is the whole *Jewish* Dispensation, but a Method of God's Providence; where his Blessings and Judgments were dispens'd by *Human Hands*? What is the Christian Religion but a Method of Salvation, where the chief Means of Grace are offer'd and dispens'd by Human Hands?

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From the Places of Scripture above mentioned, it is evident; and indeed, from the whole Tenour of Sacred Writ, that it may consist with the Goodness and Justice of God, to depute Men to act in his Name, and be ministerial towards the Salvation of others; and to lay a Necessity upon his Creatures of

qualifying themselves for his Favour, and receiving his Graces by the Hands and Intervention of mere Men.

But, my Lord, if there be now any Set of Men upon Earth, that are more peculiarly God's Ministers, than Others; and thro' whose Administrations, Prayers, and Benedictions, God will accept of returning Sinners, and receive them to Grace; you have done all you can, to prejudice People against them: You have taught the Layity, that all is to be transacted between God and themselves; and that they need not value any particular sort of Clergy in the World.

I leave it to the Great Judge and Searcher of Hearts, to judge, from what Principles, or upon what Motives, your Lordship has been induc'd to teach these things: But must declare, that for my own part, if I had the greatest Hatred to Christianity, I should think, it could not be more express'd, than by teaching what your Lordship has publickly taught. If I could rejoice in the Misery and Ruin of Sinners, I should think it sufficient Matter of Triumph, to drive them from the Ministers of God, and to put them upon inventing new

Schemes of saving themselves, instead of submitting to the ordinary Methods of Salvation appointed by God.

It will not follow from any thing I have said, that the Layity have lost their Christian Liberty; or that no body can be sav'd, but whom the Clergy please to save; that they have the arbitrary Disposal of Happiness to Mankind. Was *Abimeleck's* Happiness in the Disposition of *Abraham*, because he was to be receiv'd by means of *Abraham's* Intercession? Or could *Job* damn *Eliphaz*, because he was to mediate for him, and procure his Reconciliation to God?

Neither, my Lord, do the Christian Clergy pretend to this despotick Empire over their Flocks: They don't assume to themselves a Power to damn the Innocent, or to save the Guilty: But they assert a sober and just Right to reconcile Men to God; and to act in his Name, in restoring them to his Favour. They receiv'd their Commission from those whom Christ sent with full Authority to send others, and with a Promise that he would be with them to the End of the World. From this, they conclude, that they have his Authority; and

that in consequence of it, their Administrations are necessary, and effectual to the Salvation of Mankind; and that none can despise Them, but who despise Him that sent them; and are as surely out of the Covenant of Grace, when they leave such his Pastors, as when they openly despise, or omit to receive his Sacraments.

And what is there in this Doctrine, my Lord, to terrifie the Consciences of the Layity? What is there here, to bring the prophane Scandal of *Priestcraft* upon the Clergy? Could it be any ground of *Abimeleck's* hating *Abraham*, because that *Abraham* was to reconcile him to God? Could *Eliphaz* justly have any Prejudice against *Job*, because God would hear *Job's* Intercession for him? Why then, my Lord, must the Christian Priesthood be so horrid and hateful an Institution, because the Design of it is to restore Men to the Grace and Favour of God? Why must we be so abus'd and insulted, for being sent upon the Errand of Salvation, and made Ministers of eternal Happiness to our Brethren? There is a Woe due to us if we preach not the Gospel; or neglect those ministerial Offices that Christ has entrusted to us. We are to watch for their Souls, as those who are to give an Account. Why then must

we be treated as arrogant Priests, or Popishly affected, for pretending to have any thing to do, in the Discharge of our Ministry, with the Salvation of Men? Why must we be reproach'd with *Blasphemous Claims*, and *Absurd Senseless Powers*, for assuming to bless in God's Name; or thinking our Administrations more effectual, than the Office of a common Layman?

But further, to what purpose does your Lordship except against these Powers in the Clergy, from their common *Frailties* and *Infirmities* with the rest of Mankind? Was not *Abraham*, and *Job*, and the *Jewish* Priests, Men of like Passions with us? Did not our Saviour command the *Jews* to apply to their Priests, notwithstanding their Personal Faults, because they sat in Moses's Chair? Did not the Apostles assure their Followers, that They were Men of like Passions with them? But did they therefore disclaim their Mission, or Apostolical Authority? Did they teach that their National Infirmities made them less the Ministers of God, or less necessary to the Salvation of Men? Their Personal Defects did not make them depart from the Claim of those Powers they were invested with; or desert their Ministry: But indeed, gave St

*Paul* Occasion to say, *We have this Treasure in Earthen Vessels* (*i.e.* this Authority committed to mere men) *that the Excellency of it may be of God, and not of Men.* The Apostle happens to differ very much from your Lordship : He says, such weak Instruments were made use of, that the Glory might redound to God : Your Lordship says, to suppose such Instruments to be of any Benefit to us, is to lessen the Sovereignty of God, and in Consequence, his Glory.

Your Lordship imagines, you have sufficiently destroy'd the Sacerdotal Powers, by shewing, that the Clergy are only Men, and subject to the common Frailties of Mankind. My Lord, we own the Charge ; and don't claim any Sacerdotal Powers from our Personal Abilities, or to acquire any Glory to our selves. But, weak as we are, we are God's Ministers ; and if we are either afraid or asham'd of our Duty, we must perish in the Guilt. But is a Prophet therefore proud, because he insists upon the Authority of his mission ? Cannot a Mortal be God's Messenger, and employ'd in his Affairs ; but he must be insolent and assuming, for having the Resolution to own it ? If we are to be reprov'd, for pretending to be God's Ministers, because we are but

Men, the Reproach will fall upon Providence ; since it has pleas'd God chiefly to transact his Affairs with Mankind by the Ministry of their Brethren.

Your Lordship has not one Word from Scripture against these Sacerdotal Powers ; no Proof, that Christ has not sent Men to be Effectual Administrators of his Graces : You only assert, that there can be no such Ministers, because they are mere Men.

Now, my Lord, I must beg leave to say, that if the Natural Weakness of Men makes them incapable of being the Instruments of conveying Grace to their Brethren ; if the Clergy cannot be of any Use or Necessity to their Flocks, for this Reason ; Then it undeniably follows, that there can be no positive Institutions in the Christian Religion, that can procure any Spiritual Advantages to the Members of it ; then the Sacraments can be no longer any Means of Grace. For, I hope, no one thinks, that Bread and Wine have any Natural Force or Efficacy, to convey Grace to the Soul. The Water in Baptism has the common Qualities of Water, and is Destitute of any intrinsick Power to cleanse the Soul, or purifie from

Sin. But your Lordship will not say, because it has only the common Nature of Water, that therefore it cannot be a Means of Grace. Why then may not the Clergy tho' they have the common Nature of Men, be constituted by God, to convey his Graces, and to be ministerial to the Salvation of their Brethren? Can God consecrate inanimate Things to Spiritual Purposes, and make them the Means of Eternal Happiness? And is Man the only Creature that he can't make subservient to his Designs? The only *Being*, who is too Weak for an Omnipotent God to render effectual towards attaining the Ends of his Grace?

Is it just and reasonable, to reject and despise the *Ministry* and *Benedictions* of Men, because they are Men like our selves? And is it not as reasonable, to despise the sprinkling of Water, a Creature below us, a senseless and inanimate Creature.

Your Lordship therefore, must either find us some other Reason for rejecting the Necessity of *Human Administrations*, than because they are *Human*; or else give up the Sacraments, and *all* Positive Institutions along with them.



Surely, your Lordship must have a mighty Opinion of *Naaman the Syrian*; who, when the Prophet bid him go wash in *Jordan* seven times, to the end he might be clean from his Leprosie, very *wisely* remonstrated, *Are not Abana and Pharpar, Rivers of Damascus, better than all the Waters of Israel.*

This, my Lord, discover'd Naaman's great *Liberty* of Mind; and 'tis much this has not been produc'd before, as an Argument of his being a *Free-Thinker*. He took the Water of *Jordan* to be *only Water*; as your Lordship justly observes a Clergyman to be *only a Man*: And if you had been with him, you could have inform'd him, that the washing *seven times* was a mere *Nicety* and *Trifle* of the Prophet; and that since it is God alone who can work *miraculous Cures*, we ought not to think, that they depend upon any external Means, or any stated Number of repeating them.

This, my Lord, is the true Scope and Spirit of your Argument: If the *Syrian* was right in despising the Water of *Jordan*, because it was *only Water*; your Lordship may be right in despising any particular Order of Clergy;

because they are but Men. Your Lordship is certainly as right, or as wrong, as he was.

And now, my Lord, let the common Sense of Mankind here judge, whether, if the Clergy are to be esteem'd as having no Authority, because they are mere Men; it does not plainly follow, that every thing else, every Institution that has not some *natural* Force and Power to produce the Effects designed by it, is not also to be rejected as equally Trifling and Ineffectual.

The Sum of the matter is this: It appears from many express Facts, and indeed, from the whole Series of God's Providence, that it is not only consistent with his Attributes; but also agreeable to his ordinary Methods of dealing with Mankind, that he should substitute Men to act in his Name, and be *Authoritatively* employ'd in conferring his Graces and Favours upon Mankind. It appears, that your Lordship's Argument against the authoritative Administrations of the Christian Clergy, does not only contradict those Facts, and condemn the ordinary Method of God's Dispensations; but likewise proves the Sacraments, and every positive Institution of Christianity, to

be ineffectual, and as mere *Dreams* and *Trifles*, as the several *Offices and Orders* of the Clergy.

This, I hope, will be esteem'd a sufficient Confutation of your Lordship's Doctrine, by all who have any true Regard or Zeal for the Christian Religion; and only expect to be sav'd by the Methods of Divine Grace propos'd in the Gospel.

\* \* \* \* \*

## XVII

### SYDNEY SMITH

[Born in 1771, ordained in 1794, Sydney Smith soon went to Edinburgh, where he started the great *Review*; after five years he came to London and drew great audiences to his sermons and lectures. It was here in 1807 that he wrote the *Letters of Peter Plymley*. After seventeen years' duty in Yorkshire and Somerset he was made in 1831 Canon of St. Paul's, though he continued to 'live in the country' part of the year till he died, 1845.

Of the *Plymley Letters*, Lord John Russell, who knew Smith intimately, said that they bore the greatest likeness to his conversation of anything that he wrote. 'His powers of fun were at the same time united with the strongest and most practical common sense. So that while he laughed away seriousness at one minute, he destroyed in the next some rooted prejudice which had braved for a thousand years the battle of reason and the breeze of ridicule. . . . It may be averred for certain that in this style he has never been equalled, and I do not suppose he will ever be surpassed.' The cause of Catholic Emancipation is well explained in the Letter which is here reprinted, and further explanation is given in the notes. Here it may suffice to say that, besides the Test Act of 1673, and the oppression inherited from Queen Elizabeth, various iniquitous statutes against the Romanists had been passed by William III., which were annulled by the Acts of

1778 and 1793. In Ireland their condition was still worse; their public worship was proscribed, and they were deprived of the guardianship of their children: the Act of 1791 modified their hardships, and Pitt tried in 1799, when the Act of Union was in contemplation, to admit Irish Roman Catholics to the United Parliament. George III. was however stubbornly opposed to all Catholic Relief. The Whig ministry of 1806 resigned next year because the king demanded a written promise that no further concessions would be proposed for Catholics. Thereupon a new ministry was formed under Perceval and the Duke of Portland, and Sydney Smith wrote the *Letters of Peter Plymley* against Perceval and his associates. Smith said afterwards of these *Letters* that 'they had an immense circulation at the time, and I think above 20,000 copies [were sold.]' The Catholic Relief Bill was finally passed in 1829 by Peel and Wellington.]

FROM

'LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE  
CATHOLICS,

To my Brother Abraham who lives in the  
Country.' By Peter Plymley.

Letter V

Dear Abraham,

I never met a parson in my life who did not consider the Corporation and Test Acts as the great bulwarks of the Church;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Corporation Act (1661) forced all officers of corporations, and the Test Act (1673) forced all holding any office of profit or trust under the Crown, to

and yet it is now just 64 years since bills of indemnity to destroy their penal effects, or, in other words, to repeal them, have been passed annually as a matter of course. These bulwarks, without which no clergyman thinks he could sleep with his accustomed soundness, have actually not been in existence since any man now living has taken holy orders. Every year the indemnity act pardons past breaches of these two laws, and prevents any fresh actions of informers from coming to a conclusion before the period for the next indemnity bill arrives; so that these penalties, by which alone the Church remains in existence, have not had one moment's operation for 64 years.—You will say, the Legislature during the whole of this period, has reserved to itself the discretion of suspending, or not suspending. But had not the Legislature the right of re-enacting, if it was necessary? And now when you have kept

receive the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite, and to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The Test Act, being primarily directed against the Romanists, added a declaration against transubstantiation. Gradually the Protestant Nonconformists began to hold office without complying with the Act at all, and from 1727 acts of indemnity were passed each year to cover such breaches of the law. The Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed till 1828.

the rod over these people (with the most scandalous abuse of all principle) for 64 years, and not found it necessary to strike once, is not that the best of all reasons why the rod should be laid aside?—You talk to me of a very valuable hedge running across your fields, which you would not part with on any account. I go down, expecting to find a limit impervious to cattle, and highly useful for the preservation of property; but to my utter astonishment, I find that the hedge was cut down half a century ago, and that every year the shoots are clipped the moment they appear above ground: it appears, upon farther inquiry, that the hedge never ought to have existed at all; that it originated in the malice of antiquated quarrels, and was cut down because it subjected you to vast inconvenience, and broke up your intercourse with a country absolutely necessary to your existence. If the remains of this hedge serve only to keep up an irritation in your neighbours, and to remind them of the feuds of former times, good nature and good sense teach you that you ought to grub it up, and cast it into the oven. This is the exact state of these two laws; and yet it is made a great argument against concession to the Catholics, that it involves their

repeal ; which is to say, do not make me relinquish a folly that will lead to my ruin ; because, if you do, I must give up other follies ten times greater, though more innocent than this.

I confess, with all our bulwarks and hedges, it mortifies me to the very quick, to contrast with our matchless stupidity and inimitable folly, the conduct of Bonaparte upon the subject of religious persecution. At the moment when we are tearing the crucifixes from the necks of the Catholics, and preposterously expressing hopes of their conversion ; at that moment this man is assembling the very Jews at Paris, and endeavouring to give them stability and importance. I shall never be reconciled to mending shoes in America ; but I see it must be my lot, and I will then take a dreadful revenge upon Mr Perceval, if I catch him preaching within ten miles of me. I cannot for the soul of me conceive whence this man has gained his notions of Christianity : he has the most evangelical charity for errors in arithmetic, and the most inveterate malice against errors in conscience. While he rages against those whom in the true spirit of the Gospel he ought to indulge, he forgets the only instance of severity which that Gospel contains, and leaves the



jobbers, and contractors, and money-changers at their seats, without a single stripe.

You cannot imagine, you say, that England will ever be ruined and conquered; and for no other reason that I can find, but because it seems so very odd it should be ruined and conquered. Alas! so reasoned, in their time, the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Plymleys. —But the English are brave; so were all these nations. You might get together an hundred thousand men individually brave; but without generals capable of commanding such a machine, it would be as useless as a first-rate man of war manned by Oxford clergymen, or Parisian shopkeepers. I do not say this to the disparagement of English officers: they have had no means of acquiring experience; but I do say it to create alarm; for we do not appear to me to be half alarmed enough, or to entertain that sense of our danger which leads to the most obvious means of self-defence. As for the spirit of the peasantry, in making a gallant defence behind hedge-rows, and through plate racks and hencoops, highly as I think of their bravery, I do not know any nation in Europe so likely to be struck with panic as the English; and this from their total acquaintance

with sciences of war. Old wheat and beans blazing for twenty miles round; cart mares shot; sows of Lord Somerville's breed running wild over the country; the minister of the parish wounded sorely in his hinder parts; Mrs Plymley in fits; all these scenes of war an Austrian or a Russian has seen three or four times over; but it is now three centuries since an English pig has fallen in a fair battle upon English ground, or a farm house been rifled, or a clergyman's wife been subjected to any other proposals of love, than the connubial endearments of her sleek and orthodox mate. The old edition of Plutarch's Lives, which lies in the corner of your parlour window, has contributed to work you up to the most romantic expectations of our Roman behaviour. You are persuaded that Lord Amherst will defend Kew-Bridge like Cocles; that some maid of honour will break away from her captivity, and swim over the Thames; that the Duke of York<sup>1</sup> will burn his capitulating hand; and little Mr Sturges Bourne<sup>2</sup> give

<sup>1</sup> He was a singularly incompetent officer. As Commander in Chief he made a disgraceful convention with the French in 1799.

<sup>2</sup> A friend of Canning, and member of two administrations under him.

forty years purchase for Moulsham - Hall, while the French are encamped upon it. I hope we shall witness all this, if the French do come; but in the mean time, I am so enchanted with the ordinary English behaviour of these invaluable persons, that I earnestly pray no opportunity may be given them for Roman valour, and for those very un-Roman pensions, which they would all, of course, take especial care to claim in consequence. But whatever was our conduct, if every ploughman was as great a hero as he who was called from his oxen to save Rome from her enemies, I should still say, that at such a crisis you want the affections of all your subjects in both islands: there is no spirit which you must alienate, no heart you must avert, every man must feel he has a country, and that there is an urgent and pressing cause why he should expose himself to death.

The effects of penal laws, in matters of religion, are never confined to those limits in which the legislature intended they should be placed: it is not only that I am excluded from certain offices and dignities because I am a Catholic, but the exclusion carries with it a certain stigma, which degrades me in the eyes

of the monopolizing sect, and the very name of my religion becomes odious. These effects are so very striking in England, that I solemnly believe blue and red baboons to be more popular here than Catholics and Presbyterians; they are more understood, and there is a greater disposition to do something for them. When a country squire hears of an ape, his first feeling is to give it nuts and apples; when he hears of a Dissenter, his immediate impulse is to commit it to the county jail, to shave its head, to alter its customary food, and to have it privately whipped. This is no caricature, but an accurate picture of national feelings, as they degrade and endanger us at this very moment. The Irish Catholic gentleman would bear his legal disabilities with greater temper, if these were all he had to bear—if they did not enable every Protestant cheese-monger and tide-waiter to treat him with contempt. He is branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron, and treated like a spiritual felon, because, in the highest of all considerations he is led by the noblest of all guides, his own disinterested conscience.

Why are nonsense and cruelty a bit the better because they are enacted? If Providence, which gives wine and oil, had blest us

with that tolerant spirit which makes the countenance more pleasant and the heart more glad than these can do ; if our Statute Book had never been defiled with such infamous laws, the sepulchral Spencer Perceval would have been hauled through the dirtiest horse-pond in Hampstead, had he ventured to propose them. But now persecution is good, because it exists ; every law which originated in ignorance and malice, and gratifies the passions from whence it sprang, we call the wisdom of our ancestors ; when such laws are repealed, they will be cruelty and madness ; till they are repealed, they are policy and caution.

I was somewhat amused with the imputation brought against the Catholics by the University of Oxford, that they are enemies to liberty. I immediately turned to my History of England, and marked as an historical error that passage, in which it is recorded, that, in the reign of Queen Anne, the famous decree of the University of Oxford, respecting passive obedience, was ordered, by the House of Lords, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, as contrary to the liberty of the subject, and the law of the land. Nevertheless, I wish, whatever be the modesty of those who impute, that the imputation was a little more true than

it is ; the Catholic cause would not be quite so desperate with the present Administration. I fear, however, that the hatred to liberty in these poor devoted wretches may 'ere long appear more doubtful than it is at present to the Vice-Chancellor and his Clergy, inflamed, as they doubtless are, with classical examples of republican virtue, and panting, as they always have been, to reduce the power of the Crown within narrower and safer limits.—

What mistaken zeal, to attempt to connect one religion with freedom, and another with slavery. Who laid the foundations of English liberty? What was the mixed religion of Switzerland? What has the Protestant religion done for liberty in Denmark, in Sweden, throughout the North of Germany, and in Prussia? The purest religion in the world, in my humble opinion, is the religion of the Church of England: for its preservation (so far as it is exercised without intruding upon the liberties of others), I am ready at this moment to venture my present life, and but through that religion I have no hopes of any other ; yet I am not forced to be silly because I am pious ; nor will I ever join in eulogiums on my faith, which every man of common reading and common sense can so easily refute.

You have either done too much for the Catholics (worthy Abraham), or too little ; if you had intended to refuse them political power, you should have refused them civil rights. After you had enabled them to acquire property, after you had conceded to them all that you did concede in 78 and 93,<sup>1</sup> the rest is wholly out of your power : you may chuse whether you will give the rest in an honourable or a disgraceful mode, but it is utterly out of your power to withhold it.

In the last year, land to the amount of *eight hundred thousand pounds* was purchased by the Catholics in Ireland. Do you think it possible to be-Perceval, and be-Canning,<sup>2</sup> and be-Castlereagh such a body of men as this out of their common rights, and their common sense ? Mr George Canning may laugh and joke at the

<sup>1</sup> The Act of 1778, which led to the Gordon Riots, passed almost unanimously through both Houses ; it allowed R. Catholics to hold property in land, and removed the taint of felony from their spiritual instructors. That of 1793 allowed freedom of education, and the practice of the law to them.

<sup>2</sup> This is hardly fair on Canning. He had already (1799) laboured hard for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, and left the Government with Pitt on the King's refusing his consent. When Smith wrote these lines (1807), Canning was, it is true, in office with Perceval and Castlereagh, but he soon resigned ; and he worked strenuously till the day of his death for Catholic Emancipation.

idea of Protestant bailiffs ravishing Catholic ladies, under the 9th clause of the sun-set bill ; but if some better remedy is not applied to the distractions of Ireland than the jocularity of Mr Canning, they will soon put an end to his pension, and to the pension of those 'near and dear relatives,' for whose eating, drinking, washing, and clothing, every man in the united kingdoms now pays his two pence or three pence a year. You may call these observations coarse, if you please ; but I have no idea that the Sophias and Carolines of any man breathing are to eat national veal, to drink public tea and to wear Treasury ribbons, and then that we are to be told that it is coarse to animadvert upon this pitiful and eleemosynary splendour. If this is right, why not mention it ? If it is wrong, why should not he who enjoys the ease of supporting his sisters in this manner bear the shame of it ? Every body seems hitherto to have spared a man, who never spares any body.

As for the enormous wax candles, and superstitious mummeries, and painted jackets of the Catholic priests, I fear them not. Tell me that the World will return again under the influence of the small-pox ; that Lord Castlereagh will hereafter oppose the power



of the Court; that Lord Howick<sup>1</sup> and Mr Grattan<sup>2</sup> will do each of them a mean and dishonourable action; that any body who has heard Lord Redesdale speak once, will knowingly and willingly hear him again; that Lord Eldon has assented to the fact of two and two making four, without shedding tears, or expressing the smallest doubt or scruple; tell me any other thing absurd or incredible, but—for the love of common sense, let me hear no more of the danger to be apprehended from the general diffusion of popery. It is too absurd to be reasoned upon; every man feels it is nonsense when he hears it stated, and so does every man while he is stating it.

I cannot imagine why the friends to the Church Establishment should entertain such an horror of seeing the doors of Parliament flung open to the Catholics, and view so passively the enjoyment of that right by the Presbyterians, and by every other species of Dissenter. In their Tenets, in their church governments, in the nature of their endowment, the Dissenters are infinitely more distant from the Church of England than the Catholics are;

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Earl Grey.

<sup>2</sup> Himself a Protestant, Grattan strove passionately for Catholic Emancipation.

yet the Dissenters have never been excluded from Parliament. There are 45 members in one house, and 16 in the other, who always are Dissenters. There is no law which would prevent every member of the Lords and Commons from being Dissenters. The Catholics could not bring into Parliament half the number of the Scotch members; and yet one exclusion is of such immense importance, because it has taken place; and the other no human being thinks of, because no one is accustomed to it. I have often thought, if the *wisdom of our ancestors* had excluded all persons with red hair from the House of Commons, of the throes and convulsions it would occasion to restore them to their natural rights. What mobs and riots would it produce? To what infinite abuse and obloquy would the capillary patriot be exposed; what wormwood would distil from Mr Perceval, what froth would drop from Mr Canning; how (I will not say *my*, but *our* Lord Hawkesbury,<sup>1</sup> for he belongs to us all) how

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards 2nd Earl of Liverpool. Barring the year 1806 he was continually in office from 1793 to his last illness in 1827. He was a man of immense prejudices, and always prominent in his opposition to Catholic Emancipation. He practically secured the appointment of the Portland and Perceval administration on this question.

our Lord Hawkesbury would work away about the hair of King William and Lord Somers, and the authors of the great and glorious Revolution; how Lord Eldon would appeal to the Deity, and his own virtues; and to the hair of his children: some would say that red-haired men were superstitious; some would prove they were atheists; they would be petitioned against as the friends of slavery, and the advocates of revolt; in short, such a corrupter of the heart and the understanding is the spirit of persecution, that these unfortunate people (conspired against by their fellow subjects of every complexion), if they did not emigrate to countries where hair of another colour was persecuted, would be driven to the falsehood of perukes, or the hypocrisy of the Tricosian fluid.

As for the dangers of the Church (in spite of the staggering events which have lately taken place) I have not yet entirely lost my confidence in the power of common sense, and I believe the Church to be in no danger at all; but if it is, that danger is not from the Catholics, but from the Methodists, and from that patent Christianity which has been for some time manufacturing at Clapham,<sup>1</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> The 'Clapham Sect.'

the prejudice of the old and admirable article prepared by the Church. I would counsel my Lords the Bishops to keep their eyes upon that holy village, and its hallowed vicinity; they will find there a zeal in making converts, far superior to anything which exists among the Catholics; a contempt for the great mass of English clergy, much more rooted and profound; and a regular fund to purchase livings for those groaning and garrulous gentlemen, whom they denominate (by a standing sarcasm against the regular Church) Gospel preachers and Vital clergymen. I am too firm a believer in the general propriety and respectability of the English clergy, to believe they have much to fear either from old nonsense, or from new; but if the Church must be supposed to be in danger, I prefer that nonsense which is grown half venerable from time, the force of which I have already tried and baffled, which at least has some excuse in the dark and ignorant ages in which it originated. The religious enthusiasm manufactured by living men before my own eyes, disgusts my understanding as much, influences my imagination not at all, and excites my apprehensions much more.

I may have seemed to you to treat the

situation of public affairs with some degree of levity; but I feel it deeply, and with nightly and daily anguish; because I know Ireland; I have known it all my life; I love it, and I foresee the crisis to which it will soon be exposed. Who can doubt but that Ireland will experience ultimately from France a treatment, to which the conduct they have experienced from England is the love of a parent, or a brother? Who can doubt but that five years after he has got hold of the country, Ireland will be tossed away by Bonaparte as a present to some one of his ruffian generals, who will knock the head of Mr Keogh against the head of Cardinal Troy, shoot twenty of the most noisy block-heads of the Roman persuasion, wash his pug-dogs in holy water, and confiscate the salt butter of the Milesian Republic to the last tub. But what matters this? or who is wise enough in Ireland to heed it? or when had common sense much influence with the poor dear Irish? Mr Perceval does not know the Irish; but I know them, and I know that, at every rash and mad hazard, they will break the Union, revenge their wounded pride, and their insulted religion, and fling themselves into the open arms of

France, sure of dying in the embrace. And now what means have you of guarding against this coming evil, upon which the future happiness or misery of every Englishman depends? Have you a single ally in the whole world? Is there a vulnerable point in the French Empire, where the astonishing resources of that people can be attracted and employed? Have you a ministry wise enough to comprehend the danger, manly enough to believe unpleasant intelligence, honest enough to state their apprehensions at the peril of their places? Is there any where the slightest disposition to join any measure of love, or conciliation, or hope, with that dreadful bill which the distractions of Ireland have rendered necessary? At the very moment that the last Monarchy in Europe has fallen, are we not governed by a man of pleasantry, and a man of theology?<sup>1</sup> In the six hundredth year of our empire over Ireland, have we any memorial of antient kindness to refer to? Any people, any zeal, any country on which we can depend? Have we any hope, but in the winds of heaven, and the tides of the sea? any prayer to prefer to the Irish but that they should forget and forgive their oppressors, who, in

<sup>1</sup> Canning and Perceval.

the very moment that they are calling upon them for their exertions, solemnly assure them that the oppression shall still remain?

Abraham, farewell! If I have tired you, remember how often you have tired me, and others. I do not think we really differ in politics so much as you suppose; or at least, if we do, that difference is in the means, and not in the end. We both love the Constitution, respect the King, and abhor the French. But though you love the Constitution, you would perpetuate the abuses which have been ingrafted upon it; though you respect the King, you would confirm his scruples against the Catholics; though you abhor the French, you would open to them the conquest of Ireland. My method of respecting my Sovereign, is by protecting his honour, his empire, and his lasting happiness; I evince my love of the Constitution, by making it the guardian of all men's rights, and the source of their freedom; and I prove my abhorrence of the French, by uniting against them the disciples of every Church in the only remaining nation in Europe. As for the men of whom I have been compelled in this age of mediocrity to say so much, they cannot of themselves be worth a moment's considera-

tion, to you, to me, or to any body. In a year after their death, they will be forgotten as completely as if they had never been; and are now of no further importance, than as they are the mere vehicles of carrying into effect the common-place and mischievous prejudices of the times in which they live.

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## XVIII

### JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

[Cardinal Newman was born 1801, fellow of Oriel 1822, and Vicar of St Mary's in 1828 ; in 1845 he joined the Roman Church, and died in 1890.

The short tract here given was published only three months after Keble had preached the sermon on National Apostacy (July 1833), which Newman considered the starting point of the Oxford Movement. It thus represents the Movement in its first beginnings, and on a characteristic side. Newman had begun the Tracts 'out of my own head' in September 1833, and it was with Newman that they ended in the storm of Tract Ninety. The Tracts began as leaflets, and came to be books : we have had to be content with a specimen of the earlier kind.]

FROM 'TRACTS FOR THE TIMES' ; by Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. I. for 1833-4.

Oct. 29, 1833.

No. 7.—Price 1d.

### THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH APOSTOLICAL.

There are many persons at the present day, who, from not having turned their minds to the

subject, think they are Churchmen in the sense in which the early Christians were, merely because they are Episcopalians. The extent of their Churchmanship is, to consider that Episcopacy is the best form of Ecclesiastical Polity; and again, that it originated with the Apostles. I am far from implying, that to go thus far is nothing; or is not an evidence, (for it is,) of a reverent and sober temper of mind; still the view is defective. It is defective, because the expediency of a system, though a very cogent, is not the highest line of argument that may be taken in its defence: and because an opponent may deny the fact of the Apostolicity of Episcopacy, and so involve its maintainer in an argument. Doubtless the more clear and simple principle for a Churchman to hold, is that of a *Ministerial Succession*; which is undeniable as a fact, while it is most reasonable as a doctrine, and sufficiently countenanced in Scripture for its practical reception. Of this, Episcopacy, *i.e. Superintendence*, is but an accident; though, for the sake of conciseness, it is often spoken of by us as synonymous with it. It shall be the object of the following Tract to insist upon this higher characteristic of our Church.

My position then is this;—that the Apostles

appointed successors to their ministerial office, and the latter in turn appointed others, and so on to the present day;—and further, that the Apostles and their Successors have in every age committed portions of their power and authority to others, who thus become their delegates, and in a measure their representatives, and are called Priests and Deacons. The result is an Episcopal system, *because* of the practice of delegation; but we may conceive their keeping their powers altogether to themselves, and in the same proportion in which this was done, would the Church polity cease to be Episcopalian. We may conceive the Order of Apostolic Vicars, (so to call it,) increased, till one of them was placed in every village, and took the office of parish Priest. I do not say such a measure would be justifiable or pious;—doubtless it would be a departure from the rule of antiquity—but it is conceivable; and it is useful to conceive it, in order to form a clear notion of the Essence of the Church System, and the defective state of those Christian Societies which are separate from the Church Catholic. It is a common answer made to those who are called High Churchmen, to say, that ‘if God had intended the *form* of Church Government to be of great consequence,

He would have worded His will in this matter more clearly in Scripture.' Now enough has already been said to show the irrelevancy of such a remark. We need not deny to the Church the abstract right, (however we may question the propriety,) of altering its own constitution. It is not merely *because* Episcopacy is a better or more scriptural form than Presbyterianism, (true as this may be in itself,) that Episcopalians are right, and Presbyterians are wrong; but because the Presbyterian Ministers have assumed a power, which was never intrusted to them. They have presumed to exercise the power of ordination, and to perpetuate a succession of ministers, without having received a commission to do so. This is the plain fact that condemns them; and is a standing condemnation, from which they cannot escape, except by artificers of argument, which will serve equally to protect the self-authorized teacher of religion. If *they* may ordain without being sent to do so, *others* may teach and preach without being sent. They hold a middle position, which is untenable as destroying itself; for if Christians can do without Bishops, (*i.e.* Commissioned Ordainers,) they may do without Commissioned Ministers, (*i.e.* the Priests and Deacons). If an imposition of

hands is necessary to convey one gift, why should it not be to convey another?

1. As to the *fact* of the Apostolical Succession, *i.e.* that our present Bishops are the heirs and representatives of the Apostles by successive transmission of the prerogative of being so, this is too notorious to require proof. Every link in the chain is known from St Peter to our present Metropolitans. Here then I only ask, looking at this plain fact by itself, is there not something of a divine providence in it? can we conceive that this Succession has been preserved, all over the world, amid many revolutions, through many centuries, *for nothing*? Is it wise or pious to despise or neglect a gift thus transmitted to us in matter of fact, even if Scripture did not touch upon the subject?

2. Next, consider how *natural* is the doctrine of a Succession. When an individual comes to me, claiming to speak in the name of the Most High, it is natural to ask him for his authority. If he replies, that we are all bound to instruct each other, this reply is intelligible, but in the very form of it excludes the notion of a ministerial order, *i.e.* a class of persons set apart *from*

others for religious offices. If he appeals to some miraculous gift, this too is intelligible, and only unsatisfactory when the alleged gift is proved to be a fiction. No other answer can be given, except a reference to some person, who has given him license to exercise ministerial functions; then follows the question, how that individual gained his authority to do so. In the case of the Catholic Church, the person referred to, *i.e.* the Bishop, has received it from a predecessor, and he from another, and so on, till we arrive at the Apostles themselves, and thence our LORD and SAVIOUR. It is superfluous to dwell on so plain a principle, which in matters of this world we act upon daily.

3. Lastly, the *argument from Scripture* is surely quite clear to those, who honestly wish direction for *practice*. CHRIST promised He would be with His Apostles always, as ministers of His religion, even unto the end of the world. In one sense the Apostles were to be alive, till He came again; but they all died at the natural time. Does it not follow, that there are those now alive who represent them? Now who were the most probable representatives of them in the generation next their death? They surely, whom

they have ordained to succeed them in the ministerial work. If any persons could be said to have CHRIST'S power and presence, and the gifts of ruling and ordaining, of teaching, of binding and loosing, (and comparing together the various Scriptures on the subject, all these seem included in His promise to be with the Church always,) surely those, on whom the Apostles laid their hands, were they. And so in the next age, if any were representatives of the first representatives, they must be the next generation of Bishops, and so on. Nor does it materially alter the argument, though we suppose the blessing upon Ministerial Offices made, not to the Apostles, but to the whole body of Disciples; *i.e.* the Church. For, even if it be the Church that has the power of ordination committed to it, still it exercises it through the Bishops as its organs; and the question recurs, *how* has the Presbytery in this or that country obtained the power? The Church certainly has from the first committed it to the Bishops, and has never resumed it; and the Bishops have no where committed it to the Presbytery, who therefore cannot be in possession of it.

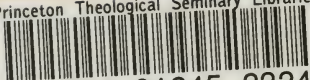
However, it is merely for argument sake

that I make this allowance, as to the meaning of the text in Matt. xxviii.; for our LORD'S promise of His presence 'unto the end of the world,' was made to the Apostles, *by themselves*. At the same time, let it be observed what force is added to the argument for the Apostolical Succession, by the acknowledged existence in Scripture of the doctrine of a standing Church, or permanent Body Corporate for spiritual purposes. For, if Scripture has formed all Christians into one continuous community through all ages, (which I do not here prove,) it is but according to the same analogy, that the Ministerial Office should be vested in an Order, propagated from age to age, on a principle of Succession. And, if we proceed to considerations of utility and expedience, it is plain, that, according to our notions, it is more necessary that a Minister should be perpetuated by a fixed law, than that the community of Christians should be, which can scarcely be considered to be vested with any powers, such as to require the visible authority which a Succession supplies.





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